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Planting Peace? How Can Development Cooperation Contribute?

Perspectives from an environmental project conducted in Somalia

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Abstract

This study concentrates on the contributions development cooperation can make towards peacebuilding. In other words, it examines the ways in which a development cooperation project conducted by civil society organizations (CSOs) in conflict-affected areas can, on its part, impact the advancement of peace. The fact that CSOs' participation in activities related to both development cooperation and peacebuilding continues to increase renders this a current topic.

The theoretical framework of this thesis consists of the concepts development cooperation and peacebuilding and of theories on the interconnectedness of livelihoods, natural resources and peacebuilding; social capital and peacebuilding; and CSOs and peacebuilding. An environmental development cooperation project named Sahansaho which is conducted in Somalia and coordinated by the Finnish Somalia Network is used as a case study. The primary data mainly composes of six semi-structured interviews with individuals who have either directly partaken in the execution of the Sahansaho project or are linked to the project through their professions. Secondary sources include reports by facets such as the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and the Swedish International Development Agency (Sida) as well as relevant academic literature.

A combination of content analysis and frame analysis is employed in analyzing the empirical data. The analysis found that, in total, the interviewees utilize three different frames - the livelihoods frame, the social capital frame, and the CSOs as peacebuilders frame – in making sense of the research subject. The thesis also concluded that although the impact of CSOs' development cooperation projects on the advancement of peace might be rather small-scale, it links to elements which are important for the creation of sustainable peace. Since effects of a project oftentimes take a long time to actualize, it would be fruitful to conduct, for instance, longitudinal studies on the same topic as well as to examine how issues such as the size of a project's budget and the theme of a project influence the project's probabilities to build peace.

Keywords: development cooperation, peacebuilding, Somalia, Finnish Somalia Network

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List of Abbreviations

CSO - Civil society organization

DAC - Development Assistance Committee

EU - European Union

GNI - Gross national income

HIPC - Heavily Indebted Poor Countries

HRRO - Homboboro Relief and Rehabilitation Organization

IMF - International Monetary Fund

ISF - International Solidarity Foundation

LFA - Logical Framework Approach

LFM - Logical Framework Matrix

MDGs - Millennium Development Goals

MDRI - Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative

MFA - Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland

NDO - Nomadic Development Organization

NGO - Non-governmental organization

NSS - National Stabilisation Strategy (for Somalia)

ODA - Official development assistance

OECD - Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

PC - Puntland Community ry

SIDA - Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency

SSDA - Somali Social Development Association ry

SSHDA - Sool, Sanaag & Hawd Development Association ry

TA - Technical assistance

TARDO - Tanaad Relief and Development Organization

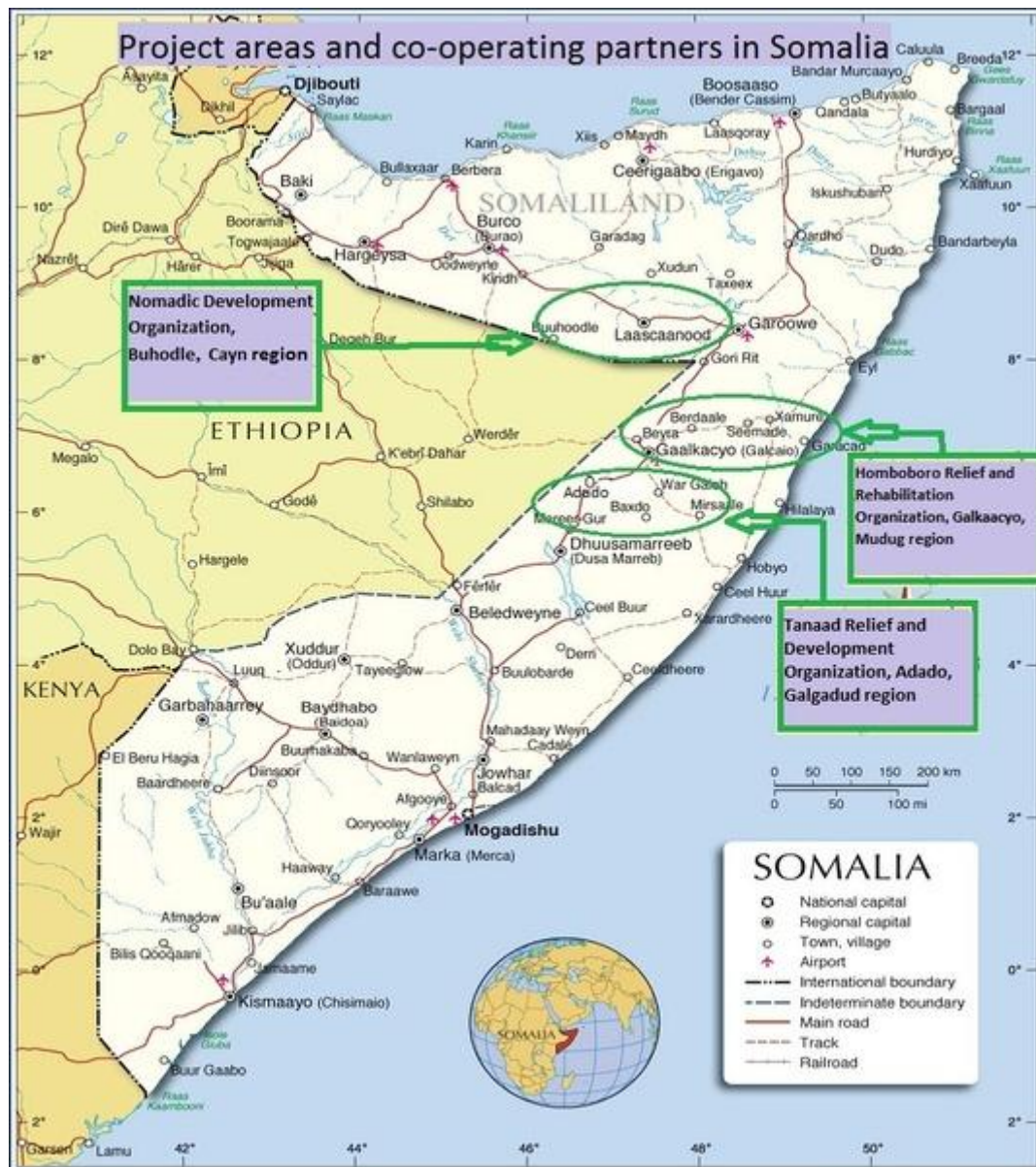
UN - United Nations

UNDP - United Nations Development Programme

UNEP - United Nations Environment Programme

VITRI - Viikki Tropical Resources Institute

WB - World Bank



Map 1: The three Sahansaho project locations and cooperating partners in Somalia.

Source: The Finnish Somalia Network

Foreword: On Developing a Researchable Topic

Before commencing to explain what the actual focus of my thesis is, I find it relevant to discuss the steps taken during the process which led to a workable research topic. By doing so, I intend to shed light on the ‘reality’ of conducting research which is, in most cases, rather far from a straightforward, linear, neat and tidy undertaking.

My initial interests concerning a master’s thesis topic revolved around the scrutiny of the conflict-natural resource nexus. I became familiar with this subject during a module on environmental security taught by my thesis supervisor. In my view, the field of environmental security was – and still is - an intriguing approach for examining the reasons that can spark a conflict, sustain a conflict or alternatively, promote peacebuilding. While conducting the module, I came across an interesting newspaper article discussing the Islamist militant group al-Shabaab’s exploitation of Somalia’s natural resources - especially of the acacia trees which are used for charcoal production. Together with the module, the article gave me the idea to examine the interconnectedness of al-Shabaab, natural resource exploitation and the sustenance of the ongoing civil war in Somalia.

Having identified a potential thesis topic, I started to read about the Somali Civil War, charcoal production and the conflict- natural resource nexus. Although there were some initial concerns about finding relevant sources to utilize in answering related research questions, I was quite convinced the issue would be solved by reading widely about the topics in question. Nevertheless, rather early on in the thesis process, difficulties appeared in conducting a comprehensive research proposal. It was especially challenging to specify which methods would be employed for collecting data. I was considering conducting expert interviews but was not sure who would be the right person or organization to approach in this matter. In May 2014, I received some initial feedback on my research proposal from academics working in our institute. Although I was not recommended to abandon my topic, concerns were raised about the very issue I had been pondering: how and where from was I to collect data that would answer my research question.

Towards the end of the summer in 2014, in an attempt to find relevant interviewees for my thesis, I contacted the Finnish Somalia Network (later referred to as the ‘Network’) which acts as an umbrella organization for organizations conducting or planning to conduct development cooperation projects in Somalia. Since I had doubts about the feasibility of my research idea I also mentioned in my email that I was open to other alternative research topics. Not surprisingly, in line with the feedback I had received from the academics at our institute, the then Coordinator of the Network was also of the opinion that collecting data on the natural resource exploitation conducted by al-Shabaab would be extremely challenging, if not impossible. The Coordinator suggested that, instead, I could analyze how

the Network's member organizations and their partner organizations perceive the role of peacebuilding in their development cooperation projects conducted in Somalia. Additionally, she also offered to help me in finding interviewees for my thesis.

Overall, the Network's Coordinator's research suggestion seemed more executable in comparison to my initial plans. Additionally, having generated an interest towards development cooperation, I had begun to consider it as a potential future field of employment. Thus, I reasoned to myself that changing topics would not only be beneficial in the light of my thesis but, perhaps, also for my employability. After confirming with my supervisor that changing topics would not be an issue, I abandoned the initial thesis plan and began to explore the field of development cooperation.

In a way, it could be seen that changing research topics put me a few steps back in my thesis process. On the other hand, coming up with a workable research approach hardly happens overnight. Thus, perhaps instead of viewing the direction of my thesis journey as regressive, it could, instead, be perceived as progressive. Progressive in the sense that firstly, I engaged myself with a theme that interested me, and then, altered and modified it to a more feasible topic. Therefore, all of the above detailed occurrences were necessary and relevant steps taken in creating this thesis.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Around a decade and a half ago the area where peace work and development cooperation overlap was only in the process of emerging as its own separate domain (Åkerlund, 2001, p. 12). Today, the different ways in which development cooperation can be utilized as part of the evolution of turning fragile conflict-ridden environments into peaceful societies are recognised by many scholars and aid actors. Although in the academic arena, research exploring the interconnectedness of peace, conflict and development – also referred to at times as the ‘conflict-development nexus’ – already existed in the late 1990s, it began to receive larger attention only during the first decade of the new millennium (Paffenholz, 2009, p. 272; Goodhand, 2006, p. 2). As an illustrative example from the field of aid practitioners, the acknowledged connections between peace and development were documented in the New Deal for Engagement in Fragile States agreement signed between conflict-affected fragile states, development partners and civil society in Busan, South Korea in 2011. The agreement introduced changes to the development policies and practices in fragile and conflict-affected states in order to promote peacebuilding and statebuilding in those countries. The engagement of civil society in planning and executing the New Deal agreement was emphasized as a way to include the viewpoints and interests of local societies – an aspect seen as important in creating stable societies and sustainable peace. (International Dialogue, 2014.)

Indeed, civil society’s - including non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and civil society organizations (CSOs) – involvement in the domains of development cooperation and peacebuilding has been increasing since the end of the Cold War (Goodhand, 2006, p.2; Hakkarainen & Kontinen, 2007, pp. 308-309). As regards development cooperation, civil society was seen to balance the much criticized and overly large roles of the state and the economy in development policy while simultaneously providing a new opportunity for repairing the prior failures of developing countries in achieving development on the level of communities and societies (Hakkarainen & Kontinen, 2007, pp. 308-309). In relation to peacebuilding, civil society’s expanding participation is partly explained by the limitations of traditional diplomacy in solving modern-day conflicts and the belief in NGOs’ comparative advantages. In contrast to governments, NGOs are “unburdened with large bureaucracies [...] and able to respond to the grassroots needs”. (Richmond, 2003 quoted in Goodhand, 2006, p.2.)

Although development cooperation activities carried out by CSOs can entail a peacebuilding potential, they alone cannot lead to peace. With respect to external CSOs, this is partly because they do not have the capacity to create peace for people in other countries. What such CSOs are able to do, however, is to support local organizations that do peace work. This can be done, for instance, by providing

resources for local peace processes such as giving support in hosting peace talks or by working in identifying and supporting local structures for peace such as traditional conflict management mechanisms. (Åkerlund, 2001, p. 15.) In addition, CSOs have a significant role in providing and strengthening basic social services such as health care and education in situations where the local government is unable to do so (Hakkarainen & Kontinen, 2007, p. 328). Although CSOs' development cooperation undertakings constitute an important part of peacebuilding, they are oftentimes viewed as complementary to other actors' efforts in the creation of peaceful societies (MFA, 2015a; Goodhand, 2006).

Regarding the geographical focus of the case study employed in this thesis – Somalia – there are a number of positive experiences where CSOs have participated in grassroots level peacebuilding through their development cooperation projects by, for instance, supporting traditional decision-making structures which has brought balance to the power held by local warlords. (Åkerlund, 2001, p. 95.) In addition to such positive occurrences, some political events such as the democratic election of a new President and the establishment of a new interim constitution in 2012 can be viewed as promising steps for the country's future. Nevertheless, the Civil War in the country is yet ongoing and the security situation remains fragile, especially in the southern and central regions where the militant group al-Shabaab has a strong presence. Where large-scale international interventions seeking to stabilize the country have not been successful, the value entailed in small-scale peace-enhancing processes has been recognised by many. For instance, Somalia's National Stabilisation Strategy (NSS) suggests that in order for a more peaceful society to be established, national and local reconciliation processes ought to be implemented at all levels of the Somali society. (ICC, 2014.)

When the above discussed potential of development cooperation in contributing to the advancement of peace is totalled with the prior local-level successes of CSOs in Somalia as well as with the country's currently fragile security situation, conducting more research on the ways development cooperation can contribute to peacebuilding in conflict-affected environments seems a justified proposition. In order for this proposition to actualize, this study scrutinizes the viewpoints different actors representing various organizations and institutions have on the issue. In other words, utilizing a development cooperation project conducted in Somalia as a case study, the core of this thesis constitutes of a discussion on the potential contributions development cooperation can make towards advancing peace in a fragile context such as Somalia.

1.1. Aims and Relevance

In broad terms, the purpose of this thesis is to combine theoretical and empirical knowledge in order to comprehend how development cooperation can contribute to peacebuilding in fragile conflict-affected

environments. As regards the theoretical level, previous studies conducted on the topic are scrutinized in order to understand how peacebuilding and development cooperation have been linked together to date. The empirical data, then, focuses on the viewpoints of individuals with differing connections to the development cooperation project utilized as a case study– the Sahansaho project. Representing three different facets - ministerial, academic and CSO - some of the individuals interviewed have been directly involved in the execution of the Sahansaho project activities while others have links to the project via, for instance, acting as consultants by providing necessary know-how. Comparing these individuals' perspectives among each other allows for a more comprehensive understanding to be gained of the topic than could be achieved by merely looking at standpoints of individuals who all have an identical affiliation to the project.

By no means does this study suggest that development cooperation alone can establish peace in a fragile context such as Somalia. Moreover, this is not an evaluative paper aiming to come to a conclusion on whether the Sahansaho project has been successful in advancing peace on local level. Although this thesis will not make recommendations as to how the peacebuilding capacity of the project under examination might be enhanced, looking at individuals' perceptions can be relevant, for instance, in providing ideas for those planning future development cooperation projects and overall, in contributing to the wider discussion about the possibilities of development cooperation in advancing peace. Since some of the findings made by this thesis will probably be of a practical nature, the study can also be utilized by the Network in supporting its member organizations in their future development cooperation projects aiming to bring about peace and development in Somalia. Moreover, by illustrating the positive contributions development cooperation can make, this study also aims to offer an alternative for the several political and theoretical debates which have condemned it as problematic and ineffective.

1.2. Research Questions

The study seeks to comprehend the views of CSO representatives who have partaken in the execution of the Sahansaho development cooperation project utilized as a case study in this thesis. In addition, the perspectives of three other actors with differing professional relations to the project are examined. All of these outlooks are compared and contrasted with each other as well as with relevant theoretical approaches in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of the topic. The main research question of the study is:

- How can development cooperation contribute to peacebuilding in conflict-affected contexts?

Since this study seeks to gain a profound understanding of the interviewees' perceptions on the relation between development cooperation and peacebuilding, the following sub-question further set the direction for the research:

- What are the elements actors representing different facets (ministerial, academic and CSO) emphasize with regard to the contributions development cooperation can make towards peace?
- How can development cooperation projects promoting inter-clan cooperation contribute to the advancement of peace?

The theory section of the thesis commences from Chapter 2 which discusses how two of the most central notions, namely, development cooperation and peacebuilding, are viewed in this study. Additionally, the chapter investigates relevant theories related to the empirical data with an emphasis on grassroots level development cooperation activities conducted by CSOs which have the potential to contribute to peace. In more detail, theories examining the interconnectedness of livelihoods, natural resources and peacebuilding; social capital and peacebuilding; and CSOs and peacebuilding are scrutinized. Following this, Chapter 3 introduces the empirical data of this study and explains the main methods used in data collection (semi-structured interviews) and analysis (a combination of content and frame analysis). The chapter concludes by considering the ethical aspects and limitations of the study. Chapter 4 addresses the different phases and findings of data analysis. Lastly, the study is critically reflected upon in Chapter 5, where a conclusion of the thesis is drawn together and recommendations for future research discussed.

1.3. The Finnish Somalia Network

Established in 2004 and registered thereafter in 2009, the Finnish Somalia Network (in Finnish: Suomen Somalia- verkosto) acts as a cooperative body for organizations conducting or planning to conduct development cooperation projects in Somalia. The Network provides its member organizations – of which a majority are diaspora organizations - with training and consultation on the different phases included in instantiating a development cooperation project. (Andersson, 2015¹; Finnish Somalia Network, 2015.)

Additionally, advice is given on basic themes related to running an organization such as communication skills, financial administration, fundraising, and registering as an organization in Finland. Indeed, fundraising plays an important role in the work of Somali diaspora organizations since the flow of remittances from diaspora greatly exceeds the annual amount of the official development assistance

¹ Interview with the former Coordinator of the Finnish Somalia Network

(ODA) received by Somalia. By offering these types of services, the Network aims to strengthen the operational capabilities of its member organizations in order to increase the amount of development cooperation projects conducted in Somalia. With the help of a growing number of development projects, the Network wishes to contribute to the advancement of peace and security in the country. (Andersson, 2015.)

In January 2015, the Network had a total of 27 Finnish and Finnish Somali member organizations. However, the then Coordinator of the Network estimated that the number of members is likely to increase up to 30 in the near future. Around 12 member organizations were implementing development cooperation projects at the time, whereas the rest were planning to instantiate projects in the future. The application procedure to become a member organization takes place via an electronic application form which is sent to the board of the Network for processing. Despite there being no precise criteria an organization must fulfil in order to attain the member status, organizations have to have a clean bill which means conducting trustworthy and observable activities as well as having the capacity to administer these activities. (Andersson, 2015.)

During most of the data collection period, the Network had two full-time staff members – the then Coordinator and the current Project Coordinator. Additionally, the Network has elected a Chair and an Executive Director both of whom operate in the Network on a part-time basis. (ibid.)

Between 2005 and 2010 the Network's activities were financed by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland (MFA) and the International Solidarity Foundation (ISF). During 2015 when the interviews for this thesis were conducted, most of the Network's expenses - including the salaries of the two full-time staff members - were covered by the resources allocated to its two development cooperation projects by the MFA. Although a majority of the funds originated from the Ministry, both of the projects require financing from the participating member organizations themselves. Additionally, another smaller source of income for the Network stems from the annual membership fees paid by each member organization according to their own capacities and assets. In 2015, the minimum fee for an organization was at EUR 50,00. (ibid.)

Although not one of Finland's seven long-term partner countries, Somalia is, however, a partner country of Finland in development cooperation (MFA, 2015b). The then Coordinator of the Network did not believe that Somalia would be removed from the interests of the MFA or Finland in the near future. Although not certain of the main reason behind the MFA's decision to support development in Somalia, she speculated that part of the motivation comes from the fact that Somalis constitute a prominent immigrant group in Finland. (Andersson, 2015.)

As an umbrella organization in the domain of development cooperation, the Network is "ideologically, politically and religiously independent" (Finnish Somalia Network, 2015). In practical terms, this signifies that the Network does not take a stance on Somali politics including the issue regarding what constitutes the country Somalia. Additionally, since operating in the field of development cooperation, the Network seeks to ensure that people may interact with one another regardless of clan relations. Wider developmental frameworks such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) - which were still in effect during the time the interviews were carried out - link to the Network's activities both directly and indirectly. Similarly with the then central MDG of halving the amount of people living in extreme poverty in the world, the Network's Sahansaho development cooperation project aims to reduce poverty in the regions it operates in. Moreover, some of the Network's member organizations' development cooperation projects in the health sector tackle issues such as maternal death which was also one of the eight MDGs. (Andersson, 2015.)

The Network's activities are - to an extent - planned according to an annually changing theme. Where in 2014 the focus was on the Somali diaspora, the Network chose Europe's development as a theme for 2015. These yearly themes are visible in events such as seminars, workshops and Somalian themed evenings which the Network organizes. (ibid.)

The Network's two ongoing development cooperation projects in Somalia - Sahansaho and Ramaad - aim to prevent desertification, reduce the use of charcoal and strengthen cooperation over clan borders (ibid.). The largest challenges the Network itself has faced in conducting these projects relate to security issues. For instance, at times, an unstable security situation has prevented people from partaking in the project meetings held in Somalia since travelling has been perceived to pose a danger. (ibid.)

In addition to the two environmental development cooperation projects, the Network implements an MFA-funded Communications and Global Education Project (ibid.). In 2014, the Network received a total of EUR 51,000 from the MFA for this undertaking (MFA, 2014b) which aims to communicate issues relating to Somalia to the wider public. As examples of related activities, the Network publishes the trilingual electronic *Horn of Africa Journal* on semi-annual basis and arranges Somalian evenings and seminars. Additionally, a part of the funds for 2014 were utilized to generate an interactive online map of Somalia for the Network's website which showcases the geographical locations of the Sahansaho and Ramaad projects. (Andersson, 2015.)

According to the then Coordinator, the Network experienced several positive developments in 2014 regarding the solidification of its operability. This included issues such as renting official premises in Helsinki as well as being able to hire two full-time staff members for the first time in the organization's

history. As regards future objectives, the Network wishes to advance cooperation between different clans in Somalia. On a more practical level, future goals also relate to stabilizing a basic income for the Network which could secure its work, and consequently, create opportunities for expanding and developing its activities. (ibid.)

1.4. Sahansaho Project

The Sahansaho project is an environmental development cooperation project conducted in Somalia. The name Sahansaho is a Somali language word meaning petrichor, the smell after the rain. The main aim of the project is to prevent desertification which is partly caused by people cutting trees for charcoal production. Other goals include poverty reduction and raising environmental awareness. Moreover, advancing peace and security in Somalia acts as a cross-cutting theme in the project. (Diallo, 2015a.²)

The beneficiaries of the project include socially marginalized groups, such as women and youth (Diallo, 2016) and the final beneficiaries consist of 1600 households situated in the three project sites (MFA, 2013a). Most of the people living in these areas are nomads. The project empowers women by having a positive impact on their access to livelihoods and considers the youth as key changemakers regarding the sustainable natural resource management of the future. (Diallo, 2016.)

The project operates in three geographical areas in Northern and Central Somalia: Adado, Galkaayo and Buhodle (see Map 1 in the beginning of the thesis). Adado is a town located in the central Galgaduud region with a large portion of its residents belonging to the rer xaji Saleeban sub-clan of the Habar Gidir (Wikipedia, 2016a). With a population of 137,000 people, Galkaayo is the capital of the north-central region of Mudug. The city is divided between two federal states, the Galmudug Interim Administration and Puntland. This division is also in line with two rival clan families, the Darod, who inhabit the Puntland-administered part, and the Hawiye, who rule in the Galmudug Interim Administration. (Yusuf & Khalif, 2015.) Buhodle, on the other hand, is located on the border between Somalia and Ethiopia and is a contested region which Somaliland, Puntland and the Khatuma state of Somalia have been fighting over (Diallo, 2015a). The Buhodle District has an estimated 100,428 inhabitants of which a large proportion belong to the Somali ethnic group, especially the Dhulbahante clan which is part of the larger Harti Darod clan (Wikipedia, 2016b).

The security situation varies between the three project locations. As the Network's member organizations tend to note, the security situation in Somalia is continuously on the edge of the sword. This becomes apparent when planning visits to the project locations to evaluate the progress of the

² Interview with the Project Coordinator of the Finnish Somalia Network

project since security issues might prevent native Finns such as the Network's Project Coordinator from traveling there. Even when the Finnish Somalis of the Network's member organizations visit the project locations, they tend to travel in big groups since it is perceived as safer than travelling alone. Additionally, travel plans might have to be changed in an instant or the whole trip cancelled if travelling is not seen as a safe option. The safety of a trip relates to which clan people belong to and where in Somalia they are from. For instance, one particular road between Adado and Galkaayo with control spots is seen as dangerous to those out-of-town. This means traveling between the project locations in Adado and Galkaayo is not always possible, which was, for instance, the case in the pilot phase of the project in 2012. (Diallo, 2015a.)

Sahansaho is a joint project coordinated and administered by the Network. Three of the Network's member organizations - Sool, Sanaag and Hawd Development Association (SSHDA); Puntland Community (PC); and Somalia Social Development Association (SSDA) - take part in planning and carrying out the project activities (Diallo, 2015a). Although not necessarily always referring to themselves as such – possibly due to the self-evident nature of the issue - all of these three organizations are diaspora organizations. Each of these three organizations has a partner organization in Somalia which implements the project activities at the local level. In a corresponding order these organizations are: Nomadic Development Organization (NDO) based in Buhodle; Homboboro Relief and Rehabilitation Organization (HRRO) in Galkaayo; and Tanaad Relief and Development Organization (TARDO) in Adado. (see Map 1) (Diallo, 2015a.)

Founded in 1997 and registered the following year, the SSDA is a CSO partaking in humanitarian and development activities conducted especially in Central Somalia. These activities include bettering the quality of and access to drinking water, alleviating poverty via small-scale food production programmes as well as providing basic education and vocational training as a way of eliminating illiteracy. Together with one of its partner organizations, Somali Against Poverty, the SSDA has implemented two MFA-funded projects – one on primary education and another on rural development - in the Galgaduud region in Somalia. The SSDA also “encourages intellectual Diaspora community to participate [in] the reconstruction of Somalia which leads resettlements of their home country.” (SSDA, 2016.) The organization defines most of its members as professionals, educators, business people and active members of Somali and other origin residing in Finland. (ibid.)

Very little data was found online about HRRO or TARDO which both operate in Somalia. The only source discovered on TARDO was their Facebook page with knowledge only in Somali language and the newest update dating back to March 2014. As regards HRRO, the organization was mentioned on a few occasions in a Somali language online newspaper titled *Horseed Media*. Rather interestingly, apart

from contact details, the Network itself was not in possession of any basic data on HRRO or TARDO either. Unfortunately, an email sent by the researcher in the beginning of April 2016 to both of these organizations inquiring about their activities was not met with a reply. Details of the organizations SSHDA (member organization), PC (member organization) and NDO (SSHDA's partner organization) whose representatives were interviewed for this thesis are provided in Chapter 3 on methodology. When discussing all of these three organizations with regard to the primary data, these organizations are not separately addressed as member or partner organizations, but instead, merely as organizations. Consequently, the members of these organizations interviewed for this thesis are addressed as organization representatives.

The Sahansaho project is mainly funded by the MFA which provides 85 per cent of the project funds. The remaining 15 per cent is self-financed and comes mainly from the Finnish Somali member organizations involved in the project as well as from the Network itself. (Diallo, 2015a.) In 2012, the MFA granted EUR 84,801 for the pilot phase of the project and an annual amount of EUR 136,000 was provided for the first three years (2013-2015) of the project (MFA, 2013a; MFA, 2013b). In order to receive the funds, the Network had to send the MFA an annual report on the state of the project. These funds were paid directly to the Network's account and forwarded from there to the three Somali partner organizations partaking in the project. This means that once the Network had received the funds from the MFA, they no longer circulated in Finland. (Diallo, 2015a.)

The MFA has a certain set of requirements for organizations applying for state aid as well as separate conditions for granting funds for development cooperation projects. Although the MFA does not have specific requirements as to the contents of development cooperation projects, Finland's development policies place emphasis on different themes depending partly on who is the Minister for International Development at the time. (ibid.)

Initially, the idea for the project originated from the partner organizations in Somalia. The Network had been discussing the possibility of conducting a joint project between the organizations in Finland and Somalia since 2007. The project plan began to actualize in 2010, when, following an open discussion with all of the Network's member organizations, it was decided that environmental protection ought to be the focus of the first joint project. Three member organizations based in Finland which already had a partner organization in Somalia were needed to carry out the project. It was required that these member organizations have previous experience in conducting development cooperation and that they would also currently have the capacity to execute a development cooperation project. Following a selection process, the SSHDA, the SSDA and the PC were selected to partake. (Andersson, 2015.)

During the pilot phase of the project in 2012, a baseline study was conducted in the project areas in Somalia by a doctoral student from the Viikki Tropical Resources Institute (VITRI) which is part of the University of Helsinki's Department of Forest Sciences. The results from the baseline study were then used to orient the project and to choose the most suitable tree species for production. Moreover, a Professor Emeritus of Tropical Silviculture from VITRI acts as a consultant in the Sahansaho project. (Diallo, 2015a.)

As a central element, environmental centers were built on all three project sites. Each center employs three people: one person who acts as a coordinator and two persons who both work as gardeners and watchmen. In addition to these full-time employees, members of the partner organizations volunteer at the centers from time to time. At these centers, seedling production is tested with different species; training and public seminars are held as a way of raising environmental awareness; and tree seedlings are planted, grown and also distributed to the locals. (ibid.) Indeed, between 2013 and 2015, a total of 170,000 tree seedlings provided by the World Agroforestry Centre which has headquarters in Nairobi were distributed to the local communities (Hassan, 2014). Moreover, the environmental centers also act as meeting places for the local communities (Diallo, 2015a).

In 2014, land rehabilitation was added to the project as a new feature. In practice, this means that a chosen area is surrounded with fences as a way of preventing animals from pasturing there. The area is then monitored for possible recovery in vegetation growth. This idea has gained support from the local people and several variations of land rehabilitation have been tested so far. Since the seedlings are currently given to locals for free, the sale of seedlings has also been considered as a way of guaranteeing a small source of income for the environmental centers. Additionally, it would also contribute to the sustainability of the whole project since taking a small nominal payment for the seedlings could mean that the locals would nurture the seedlings with even more care. This, in turn, could further their commitment to the project objectives. (ibid.)

The Sahansaho project's content for the next three years was being planned during spring 2015. Although some small modifications have been contemplated, the main focus will remain on the environmental centers. (ibid.) The idea is that these centers will be developed into regional hubs that serve as resource and environmental protection coordination centers. Thus, in the future, the hubs would provide a range of tree products including improved fruit trees and frankincense, train people to grow and produce these products by themselves, develop seed collection practices, contribute to the conservation of indigenous and disappearing tree species, and coordinate the regional networks in the environmental sector. (Diallo, 2016.) Overall, the aim is that the environmental centers will eventually be run locally by the partner organizations with some help from the local administrations. Since anti-

desertification work is a slow process, results do not occur overnight, and thus, it has been estimated that the premeditated results of the project could take place during a ten year long period. This means that since the pilot phase of the project took place in 2012, the project could shift to local ownership during 2022. The Project Coordinator of the Network estimated that any expansion of project activities is likely to occur incrementally of its own accord. (Diallo, 2015a.)

Since the MFA's funding cycles are usually three years in length, a new application for further funding was being drafted by the Network's Project Coordinator in March 2015 (ibid.). However, in June 2015, the MFA announced substantial cuts for the appropriations allocated to CSOs' development cooperation from 2016 onwards. As a consequence, the yearly application round for small and medium-sized CSOs' project support was intercepted. (MFA, 2015c.) This obviously impacts the future execution of the Sahansaho project, and therefore, the Network has started to look for alternative ways to fund the project activities.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

This chapter covers the concepts and theories central to the study. Since this thesis examines how development cooperation can contribute to peacebuilding, it is essential to commence by clarifying how the concepts development cooperation and peacebuilding are perceived and employed in this very context. Following this, relevant theories linked to the primary data are discussed. Lastly, the main findings and limitations of the existing literature are summarized and the need for further research justified.

In this piece of research, the role of theory is abductive. Locating between the inductive and the deductive approaches, research in the abductive approach commences from the gathered empirical data although the existence of a theoretically based presumption for the study is not denied. Since the reasoning process takes place by going back and forth between the practical and the theoretical levels (Alasuutari, 1994; 1996 quoted in Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2009, p. 95), this chapter comprises of a regular dialogue between the empirical data – which mainly consists of the six interviews discussing the interconnectedness of development cooperation and peacebuilding - and the different theoretical aspects utilized to explain this data.

2.1. Development Cooperation

The concepts development and cooperation are rather ambiguous in themselves. Despite there being a general-level understanding of what development cooperation is, the vagueness of the two words can make the definition of the concept a rather challenging task. As Koponen and Seppänen (2007, p. 336) have remarked, the domain of development cooperation operates with its own vocabulary which has a tendency of polishing over its own realities. Hence, understanding this vocabulary and the ways and contexts in which it is utilized is the first step in comprehending the complex entity of development cooperation (ibid).

At its simplest, development cooperation is specified as the transfer of economic resources from rich countries to poorer ones with the aim of bettering the (economic) development and wellbeing of the latter (ibid., p. 337; WHO, 2014). Some make use of an even narrower interpretation. As Alonso and Glennie (2015) point out, there exist facets which confine it to include ODA only. However, according to Gore (2013, p. 770), it is the involvement of new actors and approaches in development cooperation which have moved the definition of the concept from referring merely to ODA towards a broader view. According to Gore (ibid.),

“This architecture is in the process of being replaced by a more complex and diverse landscape of development cooperation which is characterized by new actors and new approaches, and is now understood as something broader than aid.”

Also promoting a more comprehensive view in comparison to the comparatively straightforward definitions discussed above, Koponen and Seppänen (2007, p. 337) believe development cooperation can be said to have at least three dimensions: firstly, as discussed above, it is an interstate transfer of resources from richer to poorer countries - in other words, a form of foreign politics; secondly, it is a struggle over the allocation of resources where one actor benefits more than the other; and thirdly, it is a premeditated development intervention manifesting in the form of a project or political decisions. Somewhat concordantly to Koponen and Seppänen's view, the MFA (2015a) sees development cooperation as one of the tools by which development policy is executed and which includes the channelling of funds as well as the planning and execution of concrete activities such as programmes and projects together with partner countries and other actors in the field. On the other hand, Alonso and Glennie (2015) promote a somewhat more detailed outlook in comparison to Koponen and Seppänen and the MFA by identifying development cooperation as constitutive of four main attributes, namely: it must seek to advance national or global development priorities, it is not driven by the creation of profit, it discriminates in favour of developing countries and lastly, it bases on non-hierarchical cooperative relations emphasizing developing countries' ownership in development issues.

Although the resources in development cooperation are oftentimes referred to in monetary units, people, commodities, ideas, attitudes, and behavioural models are being shifted as well (Koponen & Seppänen, 2007, p. 347). This is also the case in the Sahansaho project, where resources move between Finland and Somalia. In addition to the majority of the project funds which are transferred from the MFA to the Network and onwards to the partner organizations in Somalia, people, ideas and information shift as well. As an example of this, the Professor Emeritus from VITRI provides valuable knowledge on the local environment such as identifying the most appropriate tree species to be planted, while the Project Coordinator of the Network helps in practical issues such as how each organization involved ought to conduct accounting of the project expenses.

Development cooperation is closely tied to the notion 'developmentalism' – the belief that well-meaning and rationally planned development interventions lead to desired development in societies. More than just a metaphor and a value, development is also understood as an ideology and a discourse which are of a hegemonic nature. Consequently, development entails several unspoken assumptions such as the idea that everything labelled as development is always a change for the better. (Koponen, 2007, p. 15, p. 61.) According to my experience gained from conducting a two-month internship at the

Network in the latter part of 2015, this type of thinking is rather common amongst development cooperation professionals. Indeed, people working in this domain seem to be passionate about their jobs since it reflects their personal values, and consequently, they believe that every action – no matter how small-scale – conducted as part of their development projects is always a step towards the better. This being said, I by no means claim to possess an extensive experience of working in CSOs but nevertheless, this is the impression I gained from working with and talking to professionals in the field.

The origins of developmentalism are in the post- Second World War era when European colonial power was coming to an end in Asia and Africa and novel forms of cooperation to replace the motherland-colony relation were searched for. Discussions on allocating development aid and assistance to developing countries took place in international organizations such as the United Nations (UN). Indeed, the idea of aid was born in 1944 in a meeting in Bretton Woods, United States, where a framework for a global system of financial and monetary management was created. Central to the rise of developmentalism was also the US President Harry S. Truman's 1949 inaugural speech where Truman emphasized the essentialness of development and introduced the concept 'underdeveloped' to international politics. (Moyo, 2009, p. 10.) Truman proposed American foreign aid to be expanded beyond the Marshall Plan of 1948 which was established in order to rebuild the economies of war-torn European countries as well as to promote America's commercial and national security interests. Consequently, American aid was to be disseminated also to those developing countries threatened by communism. (Dengbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen, 2005, p. 8.)

Development cooperation has applied various approaches during its lifecycle. Initially, following the conclusion of the Second World War, the core idea was that by giving aid in the form of capital, skills and knowledge, developing countries' economies could reach a point of continual growth and eventually, all developing countries would 'catch up' with the developed ones. As to estimations of that time, developed countries were to donate 0.7 per cent of their annual gross national income (GNI) in order for this financial change to actualize. (Koponen & Seppänen, 2007, p. 360.) However, the likes of the late development economist Peter Bauer have not welcomed the developed countries' perceived obligation to provide foreign aid. Indeed, Bauer argued that richer countries should to no extent be held responsible for poverty in developing countries, but instead, each country has 'earned' whatever standard of living and access to natural resources they have through their own and their ancestors efforts. (Bauer, 1981 quoted in Dengbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen, 2005, p. 11.)

Over time, development thinking has shifted from a purely economic-centered orientation measured in GNI towards a more comprehensive approach of human development. Between 2000 and 2015, the wider global development cooperation framework was mainly identified as the eight MDGs with aims

such as halving extreme poverty and promoting environmental sustainability. The MDGs steered both global and national development policies until the end of 2015 (MFA, 2015a) when the new global Sustainable Development Goals emerged setting a novel international development agenda for the following 15 years (UN, 2014). This means that since the MDGs still directed Finland's development policy when the interviews were conducted for this thesis, they were also included in the Network's functions through the MFA since the Ministry funded several of the Network's activities at the time. The transition away from a merely economic-centered approach also actualizes in many of the modern-day apparatuses measuring development including the United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) Human Rights Index and the World Happiness Report. In addition to financial growth, these databases analyze several other measurable units such as access to education, life expectancy and even eudaimonia - a sense of meaning and purpose in life. (Kuusipalo, 2014.)

It has been accepted that development cooperation alone cannot remove the problems of the developing countries (Koponen & Seppänen, 2007, p. 339). This thesis shares the same perspective, and therefore, by no means does this piece of research claim that one development cooperation project can bring peace to a society where civil war is yet ongoing. Instead, this study examines the ways in which development cooperation can contribute to peacebuilding.

2.1.1. Development Cooperation or Development Aid?

When discussing development cooperation, it is not only vital to be aware of its correct definition but also to know how it differs from development aid. Whether there are references to development aid or development cooperation seems to be largely dependent on the field of activity and the larger objectives of whomever it is that defines the concept at a certain time. For instance, where the World Health Organization (WHO, 2014) sees development cooperation as synonymous with the financial assistance allocated to developing countries, the MFA (2015a) views it as constitutive of more than merely economic resources and stresses the partnership between the donor and the recipient. Adding to the discussion, Koponen and Seppänen (2007, p. 336) acknowledge that the term development aid seems to be well past its best before date and is generally shun by many as a pair of words unfit for the domains of diplomacy and politics. It is especially the word 'aid' which is seen to imminently generate the roles of a 'recipient' and a 'donor'. However, Koponen and Seppänen do point out that in comparison to development cooperation, development aid is a more accurate notion as well as a more realistic description of the current state of affairs. Therefore, the authors believe utilizing development cooperation as an expression is seen at times as a compromise. (ibid.) In this study, however, development aid refers only to financial flows, and hence, development cooperation is utilized as a central concept encompassing several types of transferable resources.

2.1.2. Aid Flows

Both the origin and nature of an aid relation dictate whether aid is marked as bilateral or multilateral. For example, in instances where aid is either given or received by an individual state it is labelled as bilateral (Koponen & Seppänen, 2007, p. 340). Multilateral aid, on the other hand, moves through multilateral organizations including the UN organizations or financial institutions such as the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Foundation (IMF) (MFA, 2015a). Therefore, funds originating from a donor country and traveling through multilateral organizations are also labelled as multilateral aid (Koponen & Seppänen, 2007, p. 340).

According to Gore (2013, p. 770), there are five main actors providing development assistance including finances and know-how: the member countries of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD) Development Assistance Committee (DAC), non-DAC governmental providers of development cooperation, global funds, private foundations and lastly, international NGOs. The DAC which is the development wing of the OECD is the most prominent body defining and maintaining the norms of international development assistance. In addition to this, the DAC provides the most encompassing data on global aid flows collected from all DAC member countries which include nearly all those countries giving ODA. Therefore, instead of disbursing aid, the DAC's objective is to standardize the development assistance policies of its member states. (Koponen & Seppänen, 2007, p. 339.)

ODA is almost inevitably referred to in all discussions on the goals of international aid flows such as the aim to allocate 0.7 per cent of member countries' GNI towards the economic growth of developing countries. This is the sole internationally agreed-upon norm in the field of development cooperation to which most donors promised to adhere to during the 1970s. (ibid., pp. 339-340.) However, several countries are yet to reach this goal. For instance, in 2014, the average of ODA paid by all donors was at 0.29 per cent of their GNI and at 0.41 per cent amongst the European Union (EU) member states. (OECD, 2015.) To be calculated as ODA, aid must originate from an official body, promote the economic development and wellbeing of developing countries and be of a concessional character (Dengbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen, 2005, p.56).

Gore (2013, p. 771) is of the opinion that ODA's significance as an external source of finance for developing countries has already decreased notably. Although a 2014 report by the UN's Secretary-General states how the use of ODA must be rethought in order to meet all current global challenges and reach the new Sustainable Development Goals, it, on the other hand, also notes how ODA is still a highly important source of development finance (ECOSOC, 2014, p. 4). The total amount of ODA has been increasing rather steadily from the beginning of the 2000s exceeding USD 100 billion in 2005, and

reaching pass USD 135 billion in 2014, indicating a growth of 66 per cent from 2000 to 2015 (ibid. pp. 342-345; OECD, 2015). Although these are seemingly large figures, the scale of aid is not that significant when contrasted with other international economic flows. In comparison, the world's military expenses were roughly tenfold to the 2005 ODA figures (Koponen & Seppänen, 2007, pp. 342-345) and nearly a decade later, this trend has only accelerated, rendering the world's military expenses from 2014 (USD 1776 billion) over 13 times larger than the amount of ODA that year (USD 135 billion) (SIPRI, 2015). Regionally, a quarter of all ODA assistance was directed to Sub-Saharan Africa in the first decade of the millennium (Koponen & Seppänen, 2007, pp. 342-345). Where large-scale incidents such as natural disasters are likely to create notable spikes in ODA statistics, economic recessions usually reduce the distribution of development aid. As an example of this, the 2004 Indian Ocean earthquake and tsunami partly explain the increase of ODA to Asia during 2005, whereas the 2008 financial crisis tightened the donors' purse strings. (Manning, 2007, pp. 68-69; OECD, 2012.)

2.1.3. Two-Sided Nature

Besides being a well-meaning and systematically planned development intervention, development cooperation may also be perceived as part of the unscrupulous social struggle over the allocation of benefits (Koponen & Seppänen, 2007, p. 338, p. 360). With this view, Koponen and Seppänen (ibid.) point to the dual nature of development cooperation where embedded in it are both a set of publicly stated, clearly identified and conscious targets as well as a number of unofficial goals which are not publicly spoken of. Although Koponen and Seppänen (ibid.) find this to be an important and justified outlook on the characteristics of development cooperation, the authors do acknowledge that several other forms of social action have a two-sided nature too.

What is more, development cooperation links strongly to national self-images and perceptions and is oftentimes included in the list of activities a civilized state ought to execute (ibid., pp. 337-338). This viewpoint is also shared by the Zambian economist and aid sceptic Dambisa Moyo (2009, pp. xviii-xix), who quite rightfully notes that aid is tied to moral and liberal questions such as the aspect that the rich ought to help the poor. As an illustrative manifestation of this, a plethora of renowned actors and singers have become promoters of the 'pop culture of aid' by using their leverage and popularity in appealing to politicians for the amounts of development aid to be increased (ibid.). Nevertheless, as Koponen and Kontinen (2011) accurately point out, although often perceived as a moral duty of the wealthier countries, development aid funds are usually the first ones to be cut when a government's financial expenditures need decreasing as was the case in Finland when the Government decided to reduce the appropriations allocated to CSOs' development cooperation by nearly a half from EUR 114 million (2015) to EUR 65 million (2016) (MFA, 2015c).

Dengbol-Martinussen and Engberg-Pedersen (2005) link the alterable size of development aid budgets to political atmosphere and interests. As a descriptive example of this, Koponen and Seppänen (2007, pp. 337-338) note how development assistance decreased following the conclusion of the Cold War and increased alongside the War on Terror. These transformations in the amount of development aid allude to it being a tool by which a nation's foreign policies are performed and more controllable environments created. However, on occasions, the link between aid and politics are even more clear-cut. As an example of this, both the EU and Finland have openly emphasized development assistance as a means for managing and preventing inner tensions and conflicts. (ibid.) The MFA's Senior Officer interviewed for this thesis had a somewhat less straightforward view on the issue. Indeed, when asked for reasons explaining why the MFA funds a project taking place in Somalia, the Senior Officer noted how in fragile states such as Somalia where bilateral government to government collaboration is not an option, the MFA can perform development cooperation there by supporting projects carried out by CSOs.

In addition to purchasing political power, development cooperation might also entail commercial donor interests such as the creation of well-paid jobs in exotic countries or the generation of orders to national donor country corporations. However, it is not only the donors who might have an agenda or two to hide since there are possibilities for recipients to pursue their own goals too. For instance, recipients might aim to strengthen their state's stand in the international arena or to gain benefits for private actors. (ibid.) Indeed, as Koponen and Seppänen (2007, p. 338) acknowledge, several recipient country facets benefit from development aid by receiving increased salaries or a chance to attain an education abroad. Albeit Koponen and Seppänen's viewpoint ought to be considered when examining a development project critically, I, however, do not see this being the case as regards the Sahansaho project which has a rather limited budget and where both the Network and the MFA demand that each occurred expense is meticulously written down as part of the project's accounting.

2.1.4. Types of Development Cooperation and Aid

Although different types of development aid are briefly discussed, there will be an emphasis on looking at the various forms of development cooperation as well as on exploring the characteristics of development cooperation projects. This is explained by the fact that the study utilizes an environmental development cooperation project as a case study.

The MFA (2015c) divides development cooperation into seven complementary sections: bilateral, regional, multilateral, humanitarian aid, private sector cooperation, development aid by the EU, and development cooperation conducted by CSOs (such as the Sahansaho project). Where bilateral development cooperation takes place between two governments, multilateral development cooperation

aims to help solve problems extending national borders. Development cooperation conducted by CSOs such as the Network, on the other hand, complements the public bilateral and multilateral development cooperation executed by Finland and is channelled via Finnish and international CSOs, foundations and other non-state actors. (MFA, 2015a.)

In contrast to the MFA's view, Alonso and Glennie (2015) divide development cooperation into three categories: financial transfers, policy support and capacity support. Where the first category is rather self-explanatory, activities under the umbrella of policy support include adjusting a nation's public policies towards a development-friendly direction, while capacity support refers to providing the developing country with organizational and human resources, as well as with the appropriate development-advancing technology. Since the Sahansaho project does not, at least at this point, aim to alter Somalia's public policies (on, for instance, environmental issues), Alonso and Glennie's latter category would be the most appropriate one for the project to be placed into.

According to Koponen and Seppänen (2007, p. 353), development cooperation projects began to slowly move aside in the first decade of the millennium and give space to other forms viewed as more sustainable. Indeed, from the 2000s onwards, aid agencies have been growingly concentrating on different poverty reduction measures (WHO, 2014). These include debt relief, sector budget support as well as general budget support, and were, at the time, labelled as the 'new instruments of development' (Koponen & Seppänen, 2007, p. 341). Indeed, easing or partially forgiving the debts of developing countries became central approaches in poverty reduction since they were partly utilized as tools by which to reach the MDGs. As a result, the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative, directed at the poorest countries, together with Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative (MDRI) which bases on HIPC, led to considerable reductions in the debts of involved countries. (ibid.) By 2013, these initiatives had reduced the debts of 36 countries by USD 96 billion, and by 2014, 35 countries - of which 29 were African - had been granted the total amount of debt relief for which they had the eligibility via the HIPC and the MDRI (World Bank, 2014). However, these initiatives have been criticized for forcing poor countries to adhere to some macro-economic requirements of the debt givers such as privatization (Koponen & Seppänen, 2007, p. 341). Although the above discussed 'new' forms of development cooperation might have their benefits, it must be questioned whether they should be emphasized over projects conducted in fragile states such as Somalia. Since the government might be unable to provide important basic services such as health care and education, these types of projects might be the most viable option for the local population to access them.

In addition to debt relief, different forms of budget support started gaining popularity in the poverty reduction domain in the beginning of the 2000s (ibid., p. 354). Where sector budget support is steered

towards a specific sector or policy area such as education (MFA, 2015a), general budget support commits donors to provide a certain annual sum to the recipient country's ministry of finance which is then directed to the recipient country's overall budget. The latter form of budget support has been criticized for the fact that there are no requirements as to how these finances ought to be utilized other than that they have to be directed into a country's Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper. Since different donors' funds are put together into the same 'pool' with the recipient country's tax revenues, it is impossible for a single donor to pinpoint where exactly their donations have ended up in. As a matter of fact, sceptics of general budget support have questioned if the efficient monitoring of funds is even possible in the first place, and whether the misuse of aid could ever be prevented. Moreover, CSOs in developing countries have also criticized general budget support for directing more resources to governments and for competing with aid provided to civil society. (Koponen & Seppänen, 2007 pp. 354-355.) Despite this criticism, it has been argued that in comparison to development cooperation projects, these 'instruments' are clearer and more transparent tools utilized by donors as a way of trying to impact the recipient country's economic and social policies. In order for such impacts to actualize, aid might be provided only to those countries that adhere to 'good politics'. (ibid., p. 351.)

2.1.5. Development Cooperation Projects

To begin with, it must be notified that this study does not perceive development cooperation projects as synonymous with programme-based development cooperation (also referred to as programme-based approach) which refers to "development cooperation implemented through coordinated development aid in support of a partner country's own development programme" (MFA, 2010, p. 9). The way in which development cooperation projects are viewed in the context of this thesis is discussed next.

According to Koponen and Seppänen (2007, p. 353), predictions suggested that development cooperation projects were slowly starting to move aside in the first decade of the 2000s while giving space to the previously discussed 'new instruments of development cooperation'. Despite this, different types of projects did, however, dominate the field of development cooperation for quite some time (Koponen & Seppänen, 2007, p. 347, p. 350).

In addition to being planned according to a certain logic (intervention logic), a development cooperation project has a specified aim, personnel, resources, as well as a beginning and an end (project cycle). Thus, projects also go through the different phases of planning, implementation, conclusion and evaluation (Squire & Van der Tak, 1975 quoted in Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen, 2005, pp. 40-41). Where governments and international financial institutions fund development cooperation projects, it is private consulting companies and CSOs which tend to execute them (Koponen &

Seppänen, 2007, p. 349). This is also the case with the Sahansaho project which is mostly funded by the MFA and conducted by the Network, its member organizations and their partner organizations.

In planning a development cooperation project and seeking to figure out its expected causal chains, the so-called Logical Framework Approach (LFA) where personnel and monetary resources are transformed into results and impacts is oftentimes utilized (Koponen & Seppänen, 2007, pp. 347-348). The LFA consists of background analysis on the stakeholders, strategy and possible problems, as well as of a Logical Framework Matrix (LFM) describing the structure, aims, results, practices and indicators of a project. Familiarity with the LFA is central for several CSOs since donors such as the EU demand its utilization in development cooperation grant applications. (Kehys, 2016.) Since the Network is also looking into the option of applying funding from the EU, an LFA was also drafted on the Sahansaho project for this purpose. This took place at a time when I conducted my internship at the Network and thus, I had the opportunity to participate in both the LFA training and in drafting the LFA itself. According to this experience, donors such as the EU who demand the usage of the LFA in applications sent to them, place great emphasis on the measurability of a project's results. Despite this being – to an extent - an understandable approach, it is also slightly contradictory since evaluating the impacts a development cooperation project can make has been denounced as nearly an impossible task (Goodhand, 2006, pp. 101-103).

The term technical assistance (TA) has a central position in development cooperation projects. Instead of referring to technology in its narrow meaning, it includes the transfer of all types of knowledge, skills and know-how. Since the salaries and other personnel expenses of the so-called expatriates form the largest part of TA expenses, foreign labour force hired to work in developing countries forms not only the most expensive but also the most debated component of TA. (Koponen & Seppänen, 2007, p. 348.) Koponen and Seppänen (ibid.) note that since around one third of ODA is estimated to go to TA, plans are being drafted in order for this proportion to be decreased. Despite the relevance of Koponen and Seppänen's argument, it should not be forgotten that there are projects that employ locals too. As an example of this, three local people were hired for each of the three environmental centers of the Sahansaho project.

The benefits of development cooperation projects consist of their relative efficiency as well as their concrete and easily measurable targets such as the number of new schools built – or in the case of the Sahansaho project, the number of tree seedlings planted - during a certain time frame. Additionally, projects have several qualities which may act as a positive advert to the donor country: they are easy to understand as 'our' intervention and they often have a catchy title and a clear identity. Moreover,

projects offer donors an opportunity to appear responsible since it is easy for them to pinpoint what it is that their aid has funded. (ibid., pp. 349-350.)

Many of the strengths development cooperation projects possess are simultaneously also their weaknesses, and thus, criticism is oftentimes steered towards projects' effectiveness and sustainability. As project evaluations have indicated, the relative effectiveness commonly links to short-term results (such as the number of new schools built) rather than to long-term results (such as improvements in the levels of women's education). Consequently, development cooperation projects have a tendency to be more efficient in creating concrete results, such as building new infrastructure in comparison to producing changes in attitudes, human relations or behaviour. This is, at least to an extent, explained by the limited nature of projects and their related detachment from the recipient country's government, budget and other abettors. (ibid., p. 350.) This claim by Koponen and Seppänen is highly relevant for this thesis and since another author, Goodhand, has also made similar remarks on the topic, the issue will be addressed in more detail in the section 2.2.2. (pages 31 to 32).

Koponen and Seppänen (2007, p.350) claim there is an inbuilt contradiction in the sustainability demanded from a project which refers not only to the upkeep of the project functions but also to the sustenance of the results and benefits gained from the project, even after outside support ends. However, several projects entail characteristics that render them financially unprofitable in the first place since the maintenance of the gained benefits requires wider social, cultural and economic changes such as strengthening the local administrative and social structures which the project functions might not even attempt to address (ibid.). In relation to the Sahansaho project, a more stable political situation in Somalia might correlate with better results in the project, but on the other hand, instability in the political domain of a country is also partly the reason why projects such as these are necessary.

2.1.6. Civil Society and Development Cooperation

The three sectors of society – public, private and non-governmental – are all actors in development cooperation (Koponen & Seppänen, 2007). Since the project utilized as a case study in this piece of research is conducted by a CSO, the role of civil society in development cooperation is discussed next. To begin with, it is useful to note that in this thesis, the concepts NGO and CSO are employed almost synonymously with each other in the sense that NGOs are seen to belong to the broader category of CSOs. Whether the term CSO or NGO is utilized depends on which concept the author referenced has employed.

Formerly, non-governmental actors were addressed as NGOs as defined in the 1949 UN Convention. Nevertheless, later on, the term was replaced with CSOs which is a broader and a more flexible notion. Although a slightly debated concept, civil society is generally seen to refer to a societal space where

different types actors such as non-governmental organizations and associations function. (Hakkarainen & Kontinen, 2007, pp. 308-309.) According to Lewis (2002, p. 378 quoted in Goodhand 2006, p. 14), CSOs are instrumental organizations in that they seek to reach a certain goal, as well as expressive organizations in that they represent and promote certain values. As an example of this, the Network's central goal is to promote the development of Somalia by helping organizations to conduct development cooperation projects there. Since CSOs do not seek to accumulate profit, they are oftentimes linked to notions such as non-profit, non-governmental and voluntariness. At times, there are also references to the Third Sector which complements the public (First Sector) and the private (Second Sector) sectors of society. (Hakkarainen & Kontinen, 2007, pp. 308-309.)

CSOs have an increasingly active role as the executors of development cooperation (ibid.). This orientation has been partly impacted by the social changes in Eastern Europe in the 1990s; the promotion of neo-liberalist principles of good governance and new public management; as well as the criticism steered towards the state's and economy's overly large roles in development policy (ibid., p. 317). Furthermore, resulting from the perceived failure of developing countries in achieving development on grassroots level and in improving the lives of ordinary people, civil society's growing involvement in practical-level development cooperation raised enthusiasm as well as great expectations. In addition to grassroots level development, there were hopes of initiating democratization processes in societies and creating accessible and efficient social services. (ibid., p. 307.) Indeed, CSOs in Nordic countries have supported education and health care services and taken care of orphans and street children (ibid., 328). As regards some of the Network's member organizations, they have carried out health care projects in Somalia relating to education and training of hospital staff as well as the improvement of maternal health. Moreover, from the beginning of the 2000s, another growing trend in CSOs' development cooperation has been the introduction of long-term structural changes in Southern societies and the international system as a whole by influencing decision-making on developmental policies. (ibid., p. 328.)

The extent to which CSOs engage themselves in development cooperation issues largely depends on financing. During the first decade of the 21st century, CSOs enjoyed the position as the 'darlings of development cooperation' and were increasingly able to access funds. Therefore, the amount of development cooperation conducted by CSOs was globally on the rise for some time. In Nordic countries, CSOs' development cooperation activities have been largely funded by the governments' development cooperation budgets as is also the case with the Network and the Sahansaho project. (ibid., p. 324.) This being said, structural changes such as the move towards general budget support and the harmonization of development cooperation surfaced concerns over the possible diminishment of CSOs' role. These structural changes force CSOs to ponder the extent to which they need to be seen as

independent actors and the effect independence might have when public development cooperation funds are allocated. (ibid., pp. 330-331.)

2.1.7. Central Debates and Criticism

Dengbol-Martinussen and Engberg-Pedersen (2005, p. xiii) are not alone in acknowledging that international development cooperation is in a crisis. Indeed, development aid and development cooperation are both targets of widespread criticism in the national and international arenas.

Firstly, employing Westerners to conduct development cooperation activities abroad is one of the most highly contested topics in the domain. According to estimates, the expenses for hiring a Nordic employee can rise up to an annual figure of EUR 200,000. Such high expenditures are criticized especially by recipient countries for preventing local workforce (with corresponding skills) from being hired and doing nothing to improve the typically low rates of employment. Consequently, aid critics from developing countries argue that when foreign workforce is employed, a large amount of aid goes to waste. (Koponen & Seppänen, 2007, pp. 357-358.) Where this is probably the case in many instances, the Sahansaho project, on the other hand, employs at least nine local people at the environmental centers and only one non-local person – the Network's Project Coordinator – receives her salary from the funds the MFA has allocated for the project.

Secondly, not only failing to promote development, aid has been said to actually make things worse. This perception is shared by the likes of Dambisa Moyo (2009) - a Zambian economist and one of the loudest African critics of development aid – who question the effectiveness of Western aid programmes in Africa. Moyo feeds her readers with, at times, brow-raising yet intriguing criticism on aid and has indeed received praise for representing an African voice and for rejecting the view of Africa as a victim and a passive aid recipient. However, the critic has not been spared of criticism either. Although most of Moyo's arguments appear rather rational, Koponen and Kontinen (2011, pp. 17-18) do accuse Moyo of selectivity regarding argumentation and utilization of sources and claim that Moyo constantly simplifies a very complex topic by only scrutinizing its drawbacks such as corruption.

As one of her central arguments, Moyo claims aid is the reason problems such as poverty still exist in Africa. Indeed, Moyo (2009, p. xviii) is of the opinion that aid only increases poverty while simultaneously decreasing economic growth. In an attempt to add weight to her argument, Moyo spices her critique with some startling figures: for instance, although rich countries have provided Africa with over USD 1 trillion in development-associated aid in the last 50 years, and despite the fact that aid to Africa reached its peak between 1970 and 1998, poverty rates in Africa jumped from 11 per cent all the way to 66 per cent during the same 18-year time frame (ibid., p. ix). Therefore, Moyo (2009) claims the

correct response would be to gradually reduce and to eventually completely halt aid to Africa in five years' time.

Thirdly, development aid and cooperation have also been accused of corruption. Koponen and Seppänen (2007, p. 358) explain this links to instances where politicians and officials of recipient countries participate in the distribution of development aid resources. Indeed, it is not unheard of that recipient countries' politicians and officials' personal resources and financial interests get mixed with their government's resources as well as with other mutual resources. Moreover, it is a commonly held opinion that part of development aid goes to pure bribery, especially in relation to orders and contracts, and that legal benefit allocation - which refers to the 'hardware' given to certain key individuals as part of a development cooperation project- might have a corruptive effect. For instance, Koponen and Seppänen (2007, p. 358) reveal that since cars form a large expenditure in several projects, some projects have been approved only because they will bring vehicles into the recipient country.

Continuing with the theme of corruption, Moyo (2009, p. x) makes a noteworthy comparison between aid and natural resources by claiming they can both be viewed as a 'curse'. By this, Moyo refers to the corruption and conflict that abundance in natural resources - or in this instance, aid - might engender while simultaneously discouraging free enterprise. Indeed, Moyo has it right in arguing that aid such as general budget support given directly to governments is easier to steal in comparison, to, for instance, sector budget support, and thus entails a larger potential for corruption. Moyo (ibid.) elaborates her argument by stating that once a government's wealth accumulates, control over this institution becomes growingly desirable, and consequently, an issue that might spark a conflict.

Whether or not development aid and cooperation are viewed as successful largely depends on what are expected of them. Since the sustainable reduction of poverty cannot solely base on outside financial aid, recipient countries themselves ought to construct and maintain services catering for basic human needs. While pursuing this objective, development aid and cooperation should be seen as mechanisms maintaining these basic services. Therefore, since at its best, aid can help in finding solutions, it should not be perceived as an answer to all of the problems of the developing world. (Koponen & Seppänen, 2007, p. 361.)

2.2. Peacebuilding

Since this study examines how development cooperation can contribute to peacebuilding, it is essential to clarify how the concept peacebuilding is interpreted in this piece of research. Rather than a top-down procedure relying partly on the utilization of military force, peacebuilding is understood as a grassroots level bottom-up process executed in a fragile conflict-affected environment. In other words, instead of comprehending peacebuilding as it was traditionally defined during the Cold War era, it is

alternatively viewed through a modern and multifaceted lens where its executors include CSOs who carry out various mediation activities, projects and initiatives, and consequently – either directly or indirectly - contribute to the creation of more peaceful societies.

The renowned academic and peacebuilding critic Oliver P. Richmond (2010, pp. 16-33) is of the opinion that the development of peacebuilding theory and practice can be divided into four separate categories – or ‘generations’, as Richmond refers to them. These categories are conflict management, conflict resolution, liberal peacebuilding and statebuilding, and lastly, liberal-local hybridity. According to Richmond (2010, p. 16), in addition to employing the practices of high-level diplomacy, meditation and negotiation to generate a basic minimum order, the conflict management approach to peacebuilding has a state-centric realm and a realist comprehension of peace and conflict resolution. This definition of Richmond’s (ibid.) is rather similar to what Chandler (1999, p. 109) includes in his interpretation of the Cold War era peacebuilding. As Chandler (ibid.) notes, formerly, during the Cold War era (1947-1991), much of the UN peacekeeping operations were of a military nature. Therefore, instead of solving conflicts thoroughly by addressing their root causes, the aim was to halt the warring in order for an at least temporary political solution to be achieved.

According to Richmond (ibid.), the second category of peacebuilding – conflict resolution – concentrates on responding to individuals’ needs and abolishing both violence and structural violence faced by individuals. Some of the elements of the conflict resolution approach can also be seen in Chandler’s (1999, p. 109) interpretation of post-conflict peacebuilding. As Chandler (ibid.) acknowledges, the 1992 Report of the UN Secretary-General *An Agenda for Peace* formally extended the mandate of peacekeeping operations in order for the execution of democratization settlements to be observed by defining post-conflict peacebuilding as “action to identify and support structures which tend to consolidate peace”. In practice, these democratization settlements referred to activities such as global election monitoring, civil society development, and the promotion of human rights. Indeed, ‘democratization’ became a buzzword in UN peacebuilding since it was seen to address the root causes of conflicts whereas the idea of strengthening civil society attained support for it provided a forum where ordinary people’s needs could be discussed without the presence of political aspirations. (ibid., pp. 109-111.)

While the scope of peacekeeping activities multiplied, conflicts became known as ‘complex political emergencies’. This label emphasized the conflict-associated dysfunction of governing institutions and the associated alleged essentialness for international interventions to repair these systems back to an operational level. Further emphasizing the necessity for the international community’s presence in

occasions of conflict is the ideology according to which these conflicts are “too complex for (inevitably) non-Western people to handle.” (ibid.)

Another similar interpretation of peacebuilding is offered by Duffield (2001 quoted in Goodhand, 2006, p. 11), who views it as a way of “manufacturing and policing consent”. With this, Duffield points at Western actors who aim to establish peace in the global South as a means to secure their own interests and strengthen the spread of liberal capitalist institutions. According to Goodhand (2006, p. 12), interveners are able to carry out their own political agendas since peacebuilding is seen by many as a normative— and thus, as a legitimate and transparent – practice, and therefore, any political aspects are oftentimes swept under the rug. However, as Goodhand (ibid.) notes, trying to hide the fact that peacebuilding is always also a political activity entails the risk that peacebuilding is employed as an “instrument of hegemony rather than that of transformation”. Despite these above discussed doubts about the true nature and objectives of peacebuilding, Goodhand (ibid.) reminds his readers that more locally empowering and inclusive approaches also exist. One indication of this is the inclusion of Johan Galtung’s notion positive peace –referring to the absence of structural violence - as well as of the concept human security in discussions on peacebuilding (ibid.). Taking along these notions not only challenged the orthodox way in which peacebuilding was comprehended but also introduced two contesting versions of liberalism where the more conservative approach sees state as the provider of security and regulation, and the more radical stance views peacebuilding as an unchaining activity steered towards a more “sophisticated order of justice and equity in a societal context than a basic security enforced through institutions” (Richmond, 2010, p.15).

2.2.1. Liberal Peacebuilding

Adhering to Richmond’s (2010, p. 21) categorization of the developmental steps taken by peacebuilding, the third category is formed by liberal peacebuilding and statebuilding. Indeed, the liberalization of the state’s economic and political spheres became an established approach in post-conflict peacebuilding once the successfulness of the peacekeeping operations in countries such as Namibia and South Africa were credited to these very actions. These new building blocks of intrastate peace related to the elements of the Enlightenment and were viewed as “intrinsically peaceful and mutually reinforcing”. (Hoffman, 2009, p. 10.) Therefore, as Hoffman (ibid.) notes, peacebuilding became attached to themes such as good governance, human rights, rule of law, and open market economies which were all seen as war-preventing values. However, during the late 1990s the core ideas of liberal peacebuilding were called into question especially due to the disastrous outcomes of peacebuilding efforts in East Timor and Rwanda which led to the regeneration of political violence. As a consequence, the liberal peacebuilding theory has continued to received vast criticism ever since. (ibid.)

One such critique is put forward by Bellamy and Williams (2005, p. 10) who note that peacebuilding is never a neutral process but rather a way for the intervener to impose their ideological values on the locals. According to Tellidis (2012, p. 429), this view is also shared by Richmond who claims that while international peacebuilding actors concentrate on promoting issues such as liberal state and neoliberal economy, the values and needs of local populations are overlooked. In other words, rather than building a just and an equal society, the efforts of liberal peacebuilding are steered towards “the territorial and institutional securitization of the post-conflict state” (ibid.). Taking into consideration all the above critiques, it does not come as a surprise that features of modern-day peacebuilding operations are, at times, compared to earlier structures of Western imperialism (Bellamy & Williams, 2005, p. 10). Such an imperialist approach goes hand in hand with what is at times the intervener’s view of the ‘local’. As Richmond (quoted in Tellidis, 2012, p. 430) frames the issue: the international intervener “romanticizes the local describing it as the ignorant, the barbaric, the uncivilized other” thus rendering the international actors the only ones capable of bringing about peace.

Tellidis (ibid.) rather incisively refers to contemporary peacebuilding forcing Western values on non-Western societies as the ‘IKEA-box model’ revolving around the idea that attaching a “pre-packed territorial security to the market economies, bolt[ing] on some institutional development and then apply[ing] a guarantee of rights” will bring about peace. However, the problem with this type of one-size-fits-all approach is that it neglects local agency, culture and history which are all utterly context-specific elements to be considered when drafting a peacebuilding plan for a particular region. As Chandler (1999, p. 109) warns, the global modern-day multifunctional peacebuilding efforts are in danger of becoming counter-productive if local solutions to peace are disregarded. When considering the above discussed drawbacks of modern-day peacebuilding, Hoffman’s (2009, p. 11) suggestion about challenging the ‘universalist’ stance to peacebuilding is not of a surprising nature. Offering an alternative view, Hoffman (ibid.) claims that the one-size-fits-all ideology of peacebuilding should be abandoned and replaced with a bottom-up society-building approach promoting local values and interests.

Hoffman’s (ibid.) argument about adopting a more versatile and inclusive understanding of peacebuilding links inevitably to contemplations about the definition of peace. Rather than seeing peace as negative - or in other words, merely as the absence of violent conflicts and wars - it ought to be viewed from a perspective promoting wellbeing and equality. Indeed, according to Johan Galtung (1996), positive peace refers to linking societies with values such as equality, justice, human rights, development and cooperation. Richmond (2010, p. 26) is largely of the same opinion in discussing his fourth approach to peacebuilding, namely, the liberal-local hybridity springing up from critique steered towards the liberal peacebuilding model. This novel approach aims to “move beyond the replication of

Westphalian forms of sovereignty as a response to conflict” (ibid.). Additionally, it centers on the idea of establishing an emancipatory form of peace reflecting the needs, identities and values of both state and non-state facets (ibid.). As will be discussed next, one international actor promoting such elements is civil society.

2.2.2. Civil Society and Peacebuilding

Characteristics of warfare and the ways in which peace is pursued have both undergone a transformation (Aggestam & Björkdahl, 2009, pp. 15-20). One sign of this is the post- Cold War era increase in the number of international efforts seeking to prevent and solve violent conflicts which multiplied after the 9/11 (Goodhand, 2006, p. 1). In contrast to the earlier ideology of traditional peacekeeping, contemporary peace operations are a multifaceted combination of conflict prevention, state reconstruction and peacebuilding. Despite the occasional necessity of military force as a last resort, the present-day view is that peace is only achieved through a political peacemaking process consisting of mediation and negotiation activities as well as the accompanying humanitarian, policing, and civilian efforts. (Aggestam & Björkdahl, 2009, pp. 15-20.)

Regarded at times as part of the liberal peacebuilding model, Aggestam and Björkdahl (2009, pp. 20-21) notify how the privatization of peacemaking is a rather recent trend in the pursuit towards peace. One example of this is the transformation of NGOs’ role in violent conflicts from their traditional role as humanitarian aid providers to their increasingly significant position as peacebuilders in multidimensional peace operations. This orientation is also present in the Sahansaho project where “advancing peace is a so-called cross cutting theme”, as the Network’s Project Coordinator stated. Not only highlighting the centrality of state-society relations in modern-day conflicts, this evolution also explains the increased funding NGOs have received for their relief activities alongside the growing support for extending their undertakings into the arenas of developmental relief and peacebuilding (Goodhand, 2006, p. 1).

Aggestam and Björkdahl (2009, p. 21) acknowledge how the privatization orientation has de-politicized peacemaking, and consequently, rendered NGO-led peace efforts appear freer of values and norms. The problem with this is that political responses to conflict management might be largely overlooked while solely concentrating on technical solutions even in situations where the state is responsible for impeding socio-economic development. Further criticizing the privatization trend, Aggestam and Björkdahl (ibid.) claim it renders state-society relations even more complex by increasing the privatization of state and security, for instance, when development actors such as NGOs operating in weak and failed states take over government’s role as the provider of basic services such as health care, education and accommodation.

Since part of the funds cut from ODA's budget have been redirected to NGOs there is a related hope that their development efforts will be more participatory, flexible, innovative, inexpensive and thus, more efficient in comparison to similar activities conducted by government agencies. As Richmond (2003 quoted in Goodhand, 2006, p.2) notes, NGOs' growing involvement in the peacebuilding domain is explained by the limitations of traditional diplomacy in solving modern-day conflicts and the belief in NGOs' comparative advantages allowing them to support civil society-led peacebuilding processes. Indeed, in contrast to governments, NGOs are "unburdened with large bureaucracies [...] and able to respond to the grassroots needs." (ibid.)

Since NGOs are viewed as mid-level actors, they have relations both upwards to political leadership and downwards to local communities. This means NGOs have the capacity to act as a bridge between the various levels of society - for instance, between different identity groups - and are thus able to advance peaceful dialogue between disputing parties through 'soft mediation' communication channels. As an example of this, the Sahansaho project has generated dialogue between clans in Somalia which have not previously interacted with one another. Therefore, in contrast to the Track One official government-to-government negotiations and the high politics of the state, NGOs operate in the mediation tracks Two and Three which are mainly civil society-based bottom-up approaches focusing on the low politics of society, and thus referred to as 'peacebuilding from below'. (Woodhouse, 1999 quoted in Goodhand, 2006, p. 13.) Moreover, accustomed to working at grassroots level, NGOs possess valuable knowledge of the environment they operate in (Nicolaidis, 1995, pp. 60-65 quoted in Aggestam & Björkdahl, 2009, p. 22). Possessing such context-specific know-how as well as establishing and maintaining good relationships to local actors are oftentimes crucial factors which renders several NGOs capable of working in high-risk contexts. This NGO-related benefit was also discussed in two of the interviews conducted for this study. Both the MFA's Senior Officer and the Network's Project Coordinator noted that Finnish Somalis tend to have good relations to Somalia and are therefore usually able to travel there to evaluate and partake in the development cooperation projects whereas security issues might prevent native Finns from doing the same. Altogether, these above discussed characteristics advocate NGOs' participation at the different stages of peacebuilding processes (Goodhand, 2006, p. 115).

Despite the increasing amount of funds allocated to NGOs and the related support for them to take on a broader set of activities, the impact NGOs' activities can have on the dynamics of peace and conflict only attracted the attention of researchers in a more extensive manner some 15 years ago (Christie, 2013). These studies stem partly from the reforms in the West's public sectors which emphasize results-based management as well as the view adopted by aid actors such as the USAID that doing good is not enough in itself, but instead, both the intended and the unintended results of NGO activities must be

foreseeable. Whereas this is a seemingly reasonable approach, there are worries that the demands steered towards performance are actually “pressures on NGOs to act as force multipliers in the Global War on Terror.” (Goodhand, 2006, p. 3.) Christie (2013, p. p. 52) has also noted the presence of this line of academic thinking, at times referred to as the militarization of aid, which warns that NGOs might be utilized to fight the resistance faced by Western missions in Afghanistan and Iraq.

Overall, notwithstanding the fact that several facets such as governments and donor agencies support NGOs’ increasingly active and multifaceted involvement in the mishmash of the ever complex international peacebuilding processes, meanwhile, there is no unanimity in the academic circles on whether NGOs ought to embrace their newer and more versatile role (Goodhand & Atkinson, 2001 quoted in Goodhand, 2006, p. 2). Indeed, as Goodhand notes (2006, p. 3), this academic debate remains unsolved due to a lack of systematic empirical evidence to either support or refute one of the two contesting agendas. Where the maximalist position supports NGOs participation in developmental relief and peacebuilding, the minimalist position claims NGOs ought to hold on to their traditional role as relief and protection providers (Goodhand & Atkinson, 2001 quoted in Goodhand, 2006, p. 2).

One attempt to clarify NGOs’ role in and their impact on armed conflicts is conducted by Goodhand (2006) who combines theory and research data from seven war-torn countries, examines both the political economy and the overall context of each conflict, and links this data with organizational analysis of the NGOs involved. Basing his arguments on this multifaceted research approach, Goodhand (2006., p.5) suggests that NGO activities base on the choices and decisions made via three different ‘filters’: the political context, the organizational environment and individual values and preferences. Elaborating his viewpoint, Goodhand (2006, p. 6) starts by arguing it is faulty to refer to NGOs as (politically) neutral third-party interveners since NGO practitioners involvement inevitably impacts conflict dynamics as well as the decisions made by the actors involved. Secondly, the organizational environment’s influence is explained by the fact that NGO practitioners make choices based on the objective of the intervention, available resources as well as the ideologies and goals of the facet they work for. Thirdly, Goodhand (2006, p. 7) also believes that since how an issue is approached depends partly on a person’s values, biases and capacities, individuals working in NGOs have a certain level of leverage too. This might hold true especially with regard to smaller and medium-sized NGOs such as the Network where there are not that many established rules and regulations according to which the daily activities ought to be carried out, and where employees’ skills and knowledge largely dictate how different tasks are executed.

Where Chandler (1999, p. 122) argues there are no instruments for reliably measuring the possible successfulness of civil society’s peacebuilding projects, Goodhand (2006, p. 103) is largely of the same

opinion, claiming it is impossible to answer the question on the extent to which an intervention has helped built peace. However, this being said, Goodhand (2006, p. 108) notes it is possible to compare cases in order to reveal common patterns of interaction. Indeed, by contrasting seven case studies, Goodhand (2006, p. 108) found frequent examples of aid-conflict interplay which he divided into political, economic, and social effects.

Firstly, Goodhand (2006, p. 115, p. 118) notes NGOs' involvement in political processes links to noteworthy results in peacebuilding such as being able to support community-level leadership. Additionally, NGOs may employ civic leaders in their own organizations which was the case in Afghanistan where three ministers in the Afghan Transitional Administration had an NGO background. The benefit of this is that individuals such as these may become strategically significant actors in peacebuilding processes due to their ability to combine lower level politics of society with higher level politics of the state. On the other hand, the relationship between the state and NGOs operating in a conflict environment is ambiguous to start with, especially in instances where NGOs do not want to be associated with the state. This might prove problematic, for instance, in issues relating to capacity-building. As an example of this, the privatization of welfare services in Kyrgyzstan partly impacted the conflict dynamics by undermining state's capacity and credibility when instead of the state, USAID gave funds to NGOs for the creation of welfare services. (ibid., p. 111.) Furthermore, resulting partly from a lack of strategically built relations between Track One and Track Two initiatives, NGOs might have a rather limited influence in peace negotiations for they are oftentimes excluded from the official peace negotiation processes (ibid., p. 116).

Secondly, NGO programmes can have a plethora of positive economic effects on the local level such as creating alternative sources of livelihood and providing employment opportunities (ibid., p. 121). On the other hand, Goodhand (2006, pp. 111-112) also found several instances where financial aid ended up in wrong hands and was used, for instance, by warring groups to fund the conflict and to sustain the local war economy. For example, this was the case in Liberia where people-farming was utilized to attract food aid (Atkinson & Leader, 2000 quoted in Goodhand, 2006, p. 112). Another interesting example of the economic impact NGOs might have manifested in Afghanistan where food aid had the negative unintended consequence of lowering the price of local wheat and consequently rendering poppy growing more attractive to farmers. However, Goodhand (2006, p. 121) adds that any economic impact an NGO programme might have tends to be of a supplementary, rather than of a crucial, nature to its recipients since the support of extended families such as diasporas oftentimes makes more of a difference to an individual's survival in contrast to aid. As regards Somalia, the flow of remittances from diaspora greatly exceeds the annual amount of the ODA received by the country (Andersson, 2015).

Thirdly, several positive outcomes related to social elements have been attained through conflict-sensitive approaches to relief and development which unite people, such as sharing irrigation resources or grazing regimes (ibid.). This was also one of the main findings drawn from the primary data of this thesis which concluded that when the locals visited the environmental centers, participated in the activities arranged in them, and overall, took care of the rehabilitation of their environment together, issues such cooperation, dialogue and trust building were established and strengthened. Additionally, since NGOs' activities are shaped by their norms and values, Goodhand (2006, p. 122) emphasizes the importance of individual practitioners in spreading ideas and generating social energy that can change social structures and relations. On the other hand, NGOs' involvement in conflicts can have many adverse social effects, for instance, in situations where different groups regard that aid has not been distributed evenly between them. This might lead to feelings of grievance which can then be skilfully exploited by political entrepreneurs. (ibid., p. 113, p. 115.) Additionally, NGOs might have a tendency to romanticize the 'good' actors in a conflict while simultaneously demonizing and keeping a distance from who it perceives as the 'bad' actors. As a consequence, this decision to keep away from and avoid dialogue with spoilers and other actors alike can prove rather harmful and limit the possibilities to achieve peace. (ibid., p. 123.)

Goodhand (2006, pp. 101-103) found that NGOs' impact on peacebuilding processes is rather small-scale and depends largely on when the intervention takes place as well as what the characteristics of the conflict and of the NGO in question are. Obviously, this is a highly relevant remark to consider in the light of the main research question of this thesis, namely: how can development cooperation contribute to peacebuilding in conflict-affected contexts? As mentioned before, in seeking to answer this question, an environmental development cooperation project named Sahansaho conducted in Somalia is utilized as a case study. In pondering the impacts of the Sahansaho project in contributing to the advancement of peace in Somalia, one must be in agreement with Goodhand in that any successes made by the project are rather limited in scale. This is largely explained by the facts that instead of being a project targeting the whole country, Sahansaho operates in three different regions in Somalia with an estimated 1600 households as final beneficiaries and with an annual budget of EUR 136,000 (2013-2015) (Diallo, 2015a; MFA, 2013a). Thus, these realities inevitably restrict the scale and scope of what the project can achieve. As to the characteristics of the CSOs involved, since the Network's three member organizations in Finland as well as their corresponding partner organizations in Somalia partaking in the project mainly have either Finnish Somalis or Somalis as members, certain benefits, such as context-specific knowledge on and extensive social networks in Somalia might increase the possibilities of the project in achieving its goals.

All in all, answering the question on what type of an impact an NGO can have in advancing peace is far from a straightforward task. To start with, there is oftentimes a political as well as a normative undertone in the question. Thus, much depends on the identity of the evaluator since it relates to how the successes or failures, or in other words, the positive or the negative impacts, are defined. While one evaluator might perceive the establishment of a ceasefire a success, another might tick the box for success only once the general public is widely partaking in political processes. As a consequence, the description and measurement of a successful intervention varies from person to person, and from project to project, rendering any wider generalizations questionable. As regards the examination of the Sahansaho project, it was seen as important to ask about the interviewees' definitions of peace before moving on to those questions that link directly to the research subject. Their definitions were rather identical with each other as well as comparable with what Johan Galtung (1996) labels as positive peace which instead of merely referring to the absence of war and violence, also places emphasis on people's wellbeing. Having an adequate amount of similarity amongst the interviewees' definitions ensured that their answers could be compared and contrasted. However, this still does not allow generalizable results to be drawn from the data. As was made clear in the beginning of the thesis, by no means does this study aim to arrive at an 'ultimate truth' on whether the project has advanced peace or not, but rather, to concentrate on individuals' views. Furthermore, the manner in which I, as a researcher, have formulated the main research question indicates what type of an answer might be expected. Since the question entails the word 'contribute' which has a positive undertone, it makes one consider positive, rather than negative, consequences of the project.

Posing further challenges to the evaluation of a project's capacity to advance peace is the fact that peacebuilding has a long impact chain which makes it difficult for a particular positive (or negative) development to be tied to a specific intervention with certainty. Therefore, the timing of the evaluation is relevant since the intended (and unintended) impacts may take several years to occur after an intervention has come to an end. (Goodhand, 2006, pp. 102-103.) Since the interviews for this thesis were conducted around two to three years following the commencement of the Sahansaho project, perhaps all of the possible impacts had not occurred to the extent to which they might have done if the project had been running for a longer time. This might especially be the case with environmental development cooperation projects like Sahansaho since the outcomes of activities such as reforestation take a long time to actualize. Moreover, the issue of evaluation is additionally challenged by the fact that there tends to be difficulties in obtaining reliable comparative data and baselines from conflict environments. Also, the unit utilized in analysis – be it individual, household, community or national – has large relevance with regard to the results attained. Since the individual was utilized as the unit of analysis in this thesis, the answers provided can thus not be generalized to concern Somalia as a whole

nor even the regions where the project operates in. Since any positive results of NGOs' projects oftentimes take place on micro level, if expectations are not in proportion with a project's capacity, results are likely to be negative (ibid.). Basing his argument on all of the above discussed points, Goodhand (ibid.) suggests abandoning any attempts in drawing up specific cause-and-effect chains since "at best one can talk about increasing or decreasing the probabilities of peace or conflict".

Goodhand (2006, p. 3) concludes by stating there is no universal one-size-fits-all way for NGOs to conduct their activities efficiently in a conflict environment due to the large variety of context-specific factors. Thus, in the absence of a global best practice to apply, NGO workers need to ensure that their knowledge of the milieu they work in is plentiful and up-to-date (Goodhand, 2006, p. 3), and consequently, talented practitioners must acquire the skill of adapting their responses according to the surrounding circumstances (White & Cliffe, 2000 quoted in Goodhand, 2006, p.3). Although NGOs are oftentimes not seen as the leaders in the path towards peace, they have a significant supportive role which complements the Track One processes (Goodhand, 2006, pp. 123-124). Since in modern-day conflicts, peace cannot be attained merely from top-down by employing traditional diplomacy or military means, "peacebuilding must go beyond the aggregate or national level and address the local dimensions of conflict" and this is where NGOs are needed (Goodhand, 2006, p.3).

2.3. Theories

As was noted earlier, this study employs an abductive approach to research design, and therefore, there is a regular dialogue between the empirical data and theory in this section of the thesis (Alasuutari, 1994; 1996 quoted in Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2009, p. 95). As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, the empirical data was analyzed by employing a combination of content analysis and frame analysis. Hence, the interviewees' perceptions on the research subject are scrutinized with the help of different 'frames'. Three such frames – the livelihoods frame, the social capital frame and the CSOs as peacebuilders frame - identified from the empirical data instructed in the selection of relevant corresponding theories for this section. These three theoretical outlooks – the interconnectedness of livelihoods, natural resources and peacebuilding; the link between social capital and peacebuilding; and civil society as actors in peacebuilding - were chosen to further explain the varied viewpoints the interviewees possess on the main research question of this thesis, namely: how can development cooperation contribute to peacebuilding in conflict-affected contexts?

2.3.1. Livelihoods, Natural Resources and Peacebuilding

The Professor Emeritus at VITRI perhaps somewhat foreseeably addressed the link between development cooperation and peacebuilding by emphasizing the central role of the environment and natural resources. In addition to this, the Professor underlined the importance of development

cooperation projects in guaranteeing adequate livelihoods to people when building sustainable peace. Thus, in comprehending the Professor's viewpoints relating to the research questions of this thesis, the interconnectedness of livelihoods, natural resources and peacebuilding are examined next.

Over the last decade, the possible affiliation between various kinds of natural resources and the probability of these resources in causing conflicts has become a growingly researched topic (Paffenholz, 2009, p. 276; Young & Goldman, 2015; Halle, 2009). Where some scholars argue that causal linkages between violent conflicts and environmental degradation are not straightforward (Theisen, 2006; de Soysa, 2002; Binningsbo et al., 2006 quoted in Paffenholz, 2009, p. 276), nevertheless, a preponderance of studies acknowledge environmental factors can inflict conflicts (Paffenholz, *ibid.*). Additionally, the ways in which natural resources can be integrated as part of peacebuilding efforts has also received attention in the academic domain (Castro & Stork, 2015; Young & Goldman, 2015). For instance, in addressing the topic of environmental peacebuilding, a report by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) illustrates how the environment and natural resources can concretely contribute to peacebuilding by supporting economic recovery; by developing sustainable livelihoods; and by contributing to dialogue, cooperation and confidence-building (Halle, 2009). Furthermore, not only scrutinizing the linkage between natural resources and conflict, researchers such as Young and Goldman (2015) also seek to find out how livelihoods fit in to that nexus, and especially, how sufficient livelihoods and an equal access to natural resources can be an important aspect of post-conflict peacebuilding efforts.

In addition to researchers, the international community at large has at least to an extent taken into consideration the affiliation between conflicts and natural resources by adapting their (theoretical) responses to armed conflicts accordingly (Paffenholz, 2009, p. 280). As an example of this, the 2004 report on Threats, Challenges and Change by the UN Secretary-General's High-Level Panel emphasized the necessity of comprehending the linkages between the environment, security, and social as well as economic development in order to attain global peace in the 21st century, while Carolyn McAskie, the former Assistant Secretary-General for Peacebuilding Support, highlighted the importance of natural resource management in situations where war results from resource exploitation (Halle, 2009, p. 6). Furthermore, issues concerning biodiversity, the environment and climate change are increasingly accommodated into the international agenda. This means international post-conflict efforts have also taken notice of the importance of providing livelihoods support to those impacted, advancing peacebuilding in a manner that fortifies the conservation of biodiversity, as well as including biodiversity into financial development strategies. (Castro & Stork, 2015, pp. 253-257.) Promoting a similar type of ideology, VITRI's Professor Emeritus acknowledged the relevance of peace-advancing development cooperation projects which aid the locals in adjusting to changes occurring in their

environment, especially in situations where people's livelihoods are directly linked to natural resources. Indeed, as Young and Goldman (*ibid.*, p. 5) note, managing the access to and use of land, forests and other natural resources vital to livelihoods in a just manner is essential in avoiding conflicts and strengthening peacebuilding processes. This argument, the authors explain, basis partly on the fact that the livelihoods of a relevantly large number of people in developing countries are directly dependent on agriculture and natural resources, and in post-conflict countries the number is as high as 60 to 80 per cent (Bruch et al., 2009; USAID, 2009 quoted in Young & Goldman, 2015, p. 2). In bringing the conversation further, Castro and Stork (2015, pp. 253-257) remark that since the creation of sustainable livelihoods is a part of successful post-conflict peacebuilding and recovery efforts, livelihood activities ought to be socially, economically and environmentally executable and continue even after outside support ends. Castro and Stork's view is also shared by the Sahansaho project which has been planned with the help of local knowledge and aims to gradually transfer the ownership and execution of the project and its activities to the locals during a ten-year time period.

As Egeland (2015, p. xv) notes, in post-conflict societies, livelihoods are often gained from common natural resources and, therefore, it is important that any international efforts support, for instance, both farmers and pastoralists in sharing these resources equally. Similarly to Egeland's viewpoint, Young and Goldman (2015, pp. 7-8) acknowledge how the interconnectedness of natural resources, livelihoods and conflict also presents opportunities for the creation of sustainable livelihoods which can support peacebuilding efforts. Therefore, it is important that post-conflict recovery programmes strengthen existing livelihoods in order to make communities more resilient to future conflicts by, for instance, providing former adversaries chances for interaction through sharing the management and utilization of natural resources (*ibid.*, pp. 1-2). In relation to the case study of this thesis, the Sahansaho project has helped members from different clans who have never cooperated with one another before to work together via their common interest in taking care of their environment in a sustainable manner. This requires, however, an awareness of the local surroundings and natural resources since it is vital that natural resource-based livelihood initiatives are designed in a way that considers the context-specific differences in geography, economy, politics and social life which all impact livelihoods systems (*ibid.*, pp. 7-8). With regard to international development agencies and other actors alike who architect such livelihoods initiatives, a long-term presence in the area in question tends to be a prerequisite in order for a large amount of context-specific information to be gathered. However, agencies are oftentimes restrained by limited budgets, time and a lack of skillful staff members thus posing challenges to high-quality data collection. (Schafer, 2002, p. 32.)

As an illustrative example on the relatedness of livelihoods, natural resources and peacebuilding, several assistance projects including the UNDP's Strengthening Sustainable Peace and Development in Aceh

seek to build peace through helping marginalized groups and communities in gaining sustainable livelihoods in Aceh, Indonesia. Projects such as these assist, for instance, former members of the Free Aceh Movement, many of whom are unemployed and not integrated into the society due to their prior role in the conflict. Tackling their unemployment is important for it has led to several negative consequences such as attempting to gain a livelihood through robbery, extortion and illegal tree-cutting of the Aceh forests. Since a large amount of these forests were destroyed by the conflict and the 2004 tsunami, a limit dictating the allowed amount of tree cutting was set. However, due to the large need for timber related to the country's post-tsunami reconstruction efforts, illegal logging provides some immediate economic relief for those participating in it, and is thus a tempting option for making the ends meet. Helpless in the face of it, the leaders of the Aceh Transitional Committee – an organization representing ex-combatants of the Free Aceh Movement – have noted there is little they can do to prevent their members from engaging in illegal tree cutting unless alternative means to make a livelihood are provided. Consequently, projects such as the Strengthening Sustainable Peace and Development in Aceh are highly relevant for both the sustainability of peace and the environment in the area. (Renner, 2015, pp.85-86.) Similar remarks on the problematic nature of tree logging were also made by VITRI's Professor Emeritus with relation to the acacia trees in Somalia. As the Professor explained, since most people in the Sahansaho project areas cannot afford to cook by using electricity, they do not have any other choice than to utilize charcoal or wood to cook their food. Consequently, cutting down trees leads to detrimental environmental effects such as deforestation and desertification. Since some people also cut down trees in order to sell them forward as a way of making a living, providing alternative livelihoods is also highly relevant in the case of Somalia, and is an issue that has been included in the Sahansaho project plan. Indeed, as Webersik and Crawford relevantly note, it is also the charcoal producers who suffer since they gain very little from it financially and have to bear the related environmental consequences such as the depletion of forests (World Bank & UNDP, 2003 quoted in Webersik & Crawford, 2015, p. 380). In addition to deforestation, logging results in less fodder for livestock, and furthermore, tree cutting in riverbank areas has led to soil erosion and adverse effects on river courses in Somalia (Webersik & Crawford, 2015, p. 380).

As Egeland (2015, p. xviii) points out, post-conflict societies undergoing recovery are particularly vulnerable to natural disasters such as extreme droughts. Although Egeland discusses the example of Darfur, the situation is rather similar in Somalia where droughts linked to climate variability have also led to food insecurity and even famine. Still a current issue, quoting the UN, a Finnish journal *Suomen Kuvalehti* reported in February 2016 how 58.000 children are threatened to starve to death in drought-afflicted Somalia unless food aid is provided immediately. Ethiopia – which shares a border with Somalia – has also lost a majority of its annual crops due to exceptional droughts which researchers

have linked to the El Niño weather phenomenon. (Merikallio, 2016, p. 10.) Explaining the above discussed issue is Roe's (2015, pp. 58-59) acknowledgment on how farmers who do not have the luxury of irrigation systems to support the cultivation of their crops but conduct farming on rainfed land instead, are at a higher risk to face insecurities regarding production and livelihoods. This is especially the case in counties such as Somalia which has widely arid areas with low rainfall. Employing Afghanistan as an example, Roe (ibid.) also notes how livelihood insecurities related to agricultural production in resource-scarce and marginal areas had a negative impact on rural stability and peacebuilding efforts. Occurrences such as these explain VITRI's Professor Emeritus' view on how projects providing food and promoting food security are important in advancing peace in fragile conflict-affected environments. Although it is Egeland (2015, p. xx) who states "it is usually local and regional actors who make or break peacebuilding efforts, and who should be empowered to create local livelihoods based on local natural resources", the sentence could have as well been voiced by the Professor Emeritus.

As was discussed earlier, the UNEP report introduces three ways in which natural resources and the environment can contribute to peacebuilding: by supporting economic recovery; by contributing to dialogue, cooperation and confidence-building; and by helping develop sustainable livelihoods (Halle, 2009, p. 19). The latter of these three approaches was also addressed by the Professor Emeritus at VITRI who discussed the peacebuilding capacity of development cooperation projects which promote the sustainable utilization of natural resources, produce food for people and ensure livelihoods for them. As narrated by the UNEP report, one such project was conducted in Haiti where 44 per cent of the country's forest cover was lost in ten years largely due to the production of charcoal for fuel (ibid., p. 24). As became clear in the interviews conducted for this thesis, parts of Somalia have faced a similar destiny where already sparsely occurring acacia trees have been cut down, produced into charcoal and utilized by local households for cooking or, at times, sold onwards as firewood to maintain even a minimal level of income. Similarly to Somalia, this has also led to a vicious circle in Haiti where deforestation deteriorates livelihoods, reduces options for development, and thus, only few people can afford to invest in alternative sources of energy. The good news is, however, that Haiti's environmental concerns are being tackled by several organizations and projects applying environmental rehabilitation techniques which include reforestation as well as the development of alternative energy sources and more sustainable agricultural and forestry practices. (ibid.; The Haiti Tree Project, 2015.) As regards Somalia, the Sahansaho project – which includes all of the above mentioned techniques and practices for improving the local environment – is one example of how environmental degradation is combatted. Albeit the several examples of how different development cooperation projects have successfully promoted the creation of sustainable livelihoods and the advancement of peace, these types of NGO-

led aid interventions have also been criticized for diminishing the role of the state (Christoplos, 2000a; Hanlon, 1996 quoted in Schafer, 2002, pp. 19-20) and increasing the generation of a contract culture which transfers accountability to citizens (Hulme & Edwards, 1997 quoted in Shafer, *ibid.*).

Webersik and Crawford (2015, p. 365) utilize Somalia as a case study example in examining how the environment, natural resources, conflict and peacebuilding interconnect. The long lasting Somali conflict has weakened livelihoods in the country in a severe manner (Le Sage & Majid, 2002 quoted in Webersik & Crawford, 2015, p.368). In more detail, natural resources have either been destroyed or degraded and food security challenged by deteriorated irrigation systems for farming (Webersik & Crawford, 2015, pp.368-369). Moreover, Webersik and Crawford (*ibid.*) note that profit made on charcoal, bananas and fisheries have been utilized to fund the Somali Civil War and that those involved in their trade seem to have more of an interest in maintaining the conflict and continuing to profit from it than in pursuing peace. Since there is no functioning government in place in Somalia, there is a lack of regulation and policies regarding natural resources, and thus, charcoal production and trade form a large part of Somalia's informal economy. This lack of regulation and management over natural resources has allowed their continual exploitation and degradation without caring for the consequences on sustainability. (*ibid.*, p. 369.) Furthermore, the profits from charcoal trade end up in the hands of wealthy businessmen and rival faction leaders, leaving local communities producing charcoal only with piling environmental problems. As a consequence, these local communities have resorted to violent means in protecting their interests. (*ibid.*, p. 368.)

As Egeland (2015, pp. xiii-xv) states, although the number of violent conflicts has decreased in developing countries over the last decades – as an example, there were three times more larger armed conflicts in Africa in the late 1990s than there are today - there has been a failure in providing people with sustainable livelihoods. This poses challenges for peace since the existence of sustainable livelihoods is vital in creating stable and peaceful societies. Similarly, the UNEP's report (Halle, 2009, p. 19) notifies how considering the linkage between natural resources, the environment and violent conflicts is not only relevant due to the finding that conflicts linked to natural resources have a twofold probability to relapse into conflict during the first five years. In addition to this, the likelihood of creating sustainable peace is oftentimes reduced if natural resources are not managed well, if basic services are not provided to citizens and if sustainable livelihoods are not developed. When considering the above arguments made by Egeland and Halle, Somalia seems to be a textbook example of how from a peacebuilding perspective, it is vital that livelihoods are created and natural resources utilized in a sustainable manner in order to strengthen development and stability of the country. Therefore, although the ways in which natural resources are utilized will not alone determine whether peace or

conflict is the overpowering state in Somalia, their role should not be underestimated either (Webersik and Crawford, 2015, p. 385).

2.3.2. Social Capital and Peacebuilding

Despite the fact that a large part of the development cooperation activities in the Sahansaho project connect directly to natural resources and the environment, neither the Network's Project Coordinator nor the three organization representatives explained their understanding of the research subject with reference to these two elements. Instead, these four individuals emphasized cooperation, dispelling of preconceptions, trust building and the formation of networks and relationships as those factors of development cooperation efforts that can contribute to the advancement of peace. If put in the form of an equation, cooperation and the other related elements listed above would create the constant, whereas natural resources and the environment would act as the variable. In other words, it is not so much the nature of the activities leading to cooperation that matters, but rather, the fact that cooperation is established in the first place. Thus, discussing the affiliation between social capital and peacebuilding is a justified move to make in seeking to better understand the viewpoints of the Project Coordinator and the organization representatives.

Academics such as Mary Kaldor and Mark Duffield (quoted in Korac, 2009, p. 107) refer to the wars of the 1990s as 'new wars'. The reason behind this is the so-called 'new world order' where globalization and changes in the economic and political structures acted as molds giving a new form to warring. These reformed wars are also addressed as 'network wars' (Duffield, 2001 quoted in Korac, 2009, p. 107) emphasizing not only the increasing interconnections established inside and between states which link to mobilizing people and fighters as well as gaining wider access to arms and other resources, but additionally, the ways these conflicts spread and settle deep into societies victimizing citizens. Much of the conflicts occurring in the 1990s were of an intrastate nature and characterized by political strategies which divided people and thus, made ethnicity an "effective weapon of war" consequently transforming social networks at the level of the community (Korac, 2009, p. 108). Indeed, it has been argued (Duffield, 1997; Kaldor, 1999 quoted in Korac, 2009, p. 108) that the demolition of local communities and social networks has been one of the most serious effects of the new wars and the related political strategies. Those politically powerful spread ethnically linked hatred, suspicion and fear in communities seeking citizens' support for and participation in warfare (Korac, 2009, p. 108). As a consequence, a large part of the physical violence and suffering in modern-day conflicts occurs at the level of the community where social networks have been destroyed by hampering with people's trust towards one another through divisive politics of the new wars (Goodhand & Hulme, 1999, pp. 17-18 quoted in Korac, 2009, p. 108).

The Network's Project Coordinator and the three organization representatives interviewed emphasized cooperation, interaction, trust building and the creation of social networks (also beyond clan borders) as the central factors of the Sahasaho project which have advanced peace at the local level in Somalia. As the representative of the NDO stated, "every interaction and the people who take part in the interactions can promote peace". Processes such as these can be grouped under the label social capital which refers to "those features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions" (Putnam et al., 1993, p. 167 quoted in Saner, 2009, p. 150). Therefore, one way of processing the Project Coordinator's and the organization representatives' arguments in more detail is by scrutinizing publications such as those by Cox (2009) which address the ways social-relational type of social capital can be utilized both to formulate - and more relevantly - to solve conflicts.

According to Cox (2009, p. 1), the term social capital is one of the buzzwords on the rise in domains such as civic engagement and several other fields of a political nature, and finally also gaining a foothold in peace and conflict studies. Researchers are interested in looking at the different ways in which social capital and violence interconnect in order to make sense of how people's trust with each other, their trust in institutions, or belonging to a certain group or organization can bring about or prevent violence as well as impede or strengthen peacebuilding efforts. In the context of Somalia, this could refer, for example, to the fact that people from clans such as Digil or Tuni would not usually interact with members of the Haber Gedir subclan of the Hawiye clan (Webersik & Crawford, 2015, p. 380). Vice versa, belonging to a particular clan could also act as a prerequisite to collaboration in some instances.

Since social relations and trust are vital to social stability and cohesion, re-establishing these is a significant prerequisite in building sustainable peace in the context of new wars. Therefore, as Korac emphasizes, identifying and supporting those individuals and groups emerging from new wars as well as promoting inter-group, inter-ethnic interaction and civic politics is crucial. The reason for this is that these individuals and groups have the capacity to re-establish former and create novel basis of trust between groups formed by political elites and warlords as ethnic and opposing. Seeking to generate links beyond different clan and ethnicity boundaries, these inter-group connections are mainly of a 'bridging' character. (Korac, 2009, p. 108.) As an illustrative example of this, Hewamanne (2009, p. 95) notes how a grassroots activist NGO's initiative promoting interethnic networking managed to alter misconceptions and stances in Sri Lanka where ethnic tensions between the Buddhist Sinhalese and the Hindu Tamil had resulted in a prolonged civil war. The NGO named Dabindu created a project aiming to establish gendered interethnic networks and promote the human rights and labor circumstances of international garment factory workers in the Free Trade Zone. As one of the components of the

initiative, the NGO arranged for a meeting to be held between Sinhala garment factory workers and Tamil tea estate workers. This so-called exposure programme brought together women from various ethnic groups resulting in notable positive changes in their attitudes towards each other thus implying that marginalized women could become growingly important actors in local-level peacebuilding efforts. In one of the interviews conducted for this thesis, the Network's Project Coordinator encapsulates the nucleus of this idea rather aptly: "when cooperation is created, we are moving beyond physical and psychological borders, and this in itself upholds the structures supporting peace and creates a network of trust."

Another illustrative example of dispelling preconceptions comes from Somalia where women have played a significant role as peacemakers. Due to the lack of a functioning government, several activities normally executed by the state such as the promotion of democracy and human rights and the generation of basic services are now occurring at community level and conducted by various grassroots movements. Many of these movements have been started by women who have gained new potential as peacemakers due to the civil war in the country. One example of how women are cooperating beyond clan borders to advance peace is the Green-Line market activities where women travel beyond their own clan lines to exchange goods and discuss peace initiatives with those from different clans. Furthermore, workshops arranged by the Center for the Strategic Initiatives of Women have gathered female participants from various clans to discuss their experiences of the Somali Civil War. (Prendergast & Bryden, 1999 quoted in Colletta & Cullen, 2000, p. 105.) Indeed, establishing relations across clan borders is also part of the Sahansaho project. As the Network's Project Coordinator acknowledged, the project was designed to promote inter-clan cooperation, and therefore, the partner organizations located in Somalia were partly chosen on the basis that they would have people from different clans as members. Additionally, as the representative of the SSHDA noted, the Sahansaho project allows for both majority and minority clans to participate in discussions on the project benefits, aims and budget. For there is no police or official security groups to maintain security in the country, it is especially important that things are done in concord since conflict-sensitive situations where a specific clan gets more benefits than others can be avoided, he further explained.

Albeit the fact that the UNEP's report was already utilized in better comprehending the Professor Emeritus' viewpoints, it is also relevant to include some of the report's findings in this section. As was mentioned earlier, in addition to developing livelihoods, natural resources and the environment can contribute to peacebuilding by promoting dialogue, cooperation and confidence-building (Halle, 2009). This is a highly relevant argument in the light of this thesis, since in addition to the Project Coordinator of the Network, all of the three organization representatives emphasized how the Sahansaho environmental development cooperation project has created dialogue and cooperation and built trust

between people on the local level. As Halle (2009, p.19) states, the environment can function as a 'platform' or 'catalyst' for peacebuilding at various levels such as across ethnic or kinship lines and other local social groups and this seems to be exactly what the Sahansaho project has succeeded to do. Indeed, environmental cooperation such as sharing the management of natural resources including water, land and forests, can enhance interaction and communication which can be especially beneficial when it takes place between rival groups since these types of processes can utilize the groups' environmental interdependence. This, in turn, might act as a reason to uphold communication beyond disputed borders or dividing lines. (ibid., p. 22.)

In illustrating how environmental cooperation has been conducted in practice, the UNEP report employs a case study example of 'peace parks'. With regard to Peru and Ecuador, tension related to a shared border had lasted for more than 150 years, erupting, at times, into conflicts such as the invasion of Ecuador by Peru in 1942. Albeit the contested border was redefined, confrontations continued, until finally, a convention titled the Acta Presidencial de Brasilia was signed in 1998. This treaty promoted transboundary cooperation, mitigation of tensions between the countries and the protection of biodiversity. Adjacent Zones of Ecological Protection – also referred to as peace parks - were established on both sides of the border to act as systems for bilateral cooperation and conservation, and to support the social, economic and cultural development of local communities in both countries. In addition to acting as "transboundary conservation zones", the peace parks have directly benefitted local communities by strengthening their ability to manage the protected areas. (ibid., p. 25.)

Introducing a similar outlook, the representative of the Network's member organization, PC, stated that the organization's participation in the Sahansaho project relates strongly to the fact that they perceive the project as a good peace initiative. In further elaborating his view, the representative noted how:

"In order to have peace in the society you need also people to come together, to do things together. [...] We have had a civil war for a long time and tribes don't have trust [...] so we thought that it is not enough to have meetings as a peace initiative, but we must also have people coming together and doing things together. This will build their confidence, they will trust each other."

As Cox (2009, p.1) explains, social capital is oftentimes viewed as a public good and can further the prosperity of societies in several manners, for instance, by strengthening active citizenship, accelerating economic growth, promoting environmental protection, as well as increasing people's physical and psychological wellbeing. Since societies possessing these elements are linked to adjectives such as stable and peaceful, many national and global education and civic-building activities are employed in the hope of strengthening social relations and trust. Cox's publication includes four case study examples of countries where these types of activities have been carried out. Cox (ibid.) acknowledges how the

impact of social networks and trust – or in other words, social capital - on conflicts can be identified clearly in some instances, while the links cannot be drawn that easily in others. Indeed, it might be challenging to pinpoint the exact factors that have contributed to a positive result – such as the creation of cooperation between former adversaries – since results such as these are oftentimes the sum of several different elements. (Cox, 2009, pp.1-2.)

Similarly to several other issues related to social interaction, social capital has a reverse side as well. In addition to improving stability and peacefulness of societies, social capital in the form of networks of trust and engagement can also strengthen violent behavior in some instances. Indeed, examples of this type of ‘unsocial capital’ or ‘dark capital’ have been found in places such as Colombia, Eastern Europe and Northern Ireland where the same elements that promote the advancement of peaceful goals have resulted in criminal activity and militancy. (ibid.)

Examining the interconnectedness of social capital and violent intrastate conflicts, a publication by the WB’s Post-Conflict Unit consists of case studies on Cambodia, Rwanda, Guatemala and Somalia. Since the publication is conducted by an international financial institution it comes as no surprise that economic factors are largely emphasized. Despite this, it includes some interesting case examples which illustrate the role of social capital in advancing peace. Utilizing a combination of field research and literature reviews as research methods, the publication seeks to comprehend how violent conflicts alter the dynamics of social capital, in other words, how they impact on issues such as social relations and communal trust. The two authors of the publication, Colletta and Cullen, describe social capital as the “systems that lead to or result from social and economic organization, such as worldviews, trust, reciprocity, informational and economic exchange, and informal and formal groups and associations.” (Colletta & Cullen 2000, p.6.) Colletta and Cullen (2000, p.3) note that where interstate conflicts have the tendency of evoking nationalist feelings, violent intrastate conflicts function in the opposite manner, deteriorating trust between people and communities as well as damaging the norms and values acting as basis for cooperation and collective action. Therefore, as regards Somalia, social capital might be employed in fortifying the feelings of belonging inside groups such as different clans, while simultaneously increasing distrust between clans (ibid., p.15).

Another intriguing case example concerns Rwanda (World Bank, 1999 quoted in Colletta & Cullen, 2000, p. 101) where the Government of National Unity started an inclusive community-level Community Reintegration and Development Project to further the development of communities and to provide an answer to the regional security problems acting as an obstacle to peace. Since instead of the state-level, decisions on development activities are growingly made by local administrative structures and Rwandans themselves, the WB’s Community Reintegration and Development Project also took a

similar approach. Indeed, the project helps communities impacted by war, assists returned nationalists and other vulnerable groups through community-based reconstruction, reintegration and development and promotes the implementation of development subprojects conducted by communities and local and national administrations by strengthening their capacities. The local communities themselves have partaken in planning the project which supports rural populations in decision-making, gives boost to local economies, increases people's self-reliance and brings communities together via local-level decision-making on and participation in development activities and subprojects. (ibid.)

To conclude, Colletta and Cullen (2000, pp. 112-115) note how social capital advocating social cohesion and conflict management has the ability to generate human progress and economic development. Thus, connecting, integrating and empowering people and organizations function as basic transformative actions. In Somalia, for instance, the diaspora has promoted economic links to international markets and fortified intersecting connections via market transactions and open communication channels leading to transformed social relationships. As a consequence, decentralization and participation empower people while giving them a feeling of control over their futures of which the above discussed example on Rwanda is an illustrative example. All in all, the more resilient a community is, the better resistance it has towards violent conflicts. Therefore, cooperation and integration between different groups, civil society, the state and citizens is a prerequisite for sustainable peace and development. (ibid.)

2.3.3. CSOs as Actors in Peacebuilding

The Senior Officer at the MFA highlighted the advantages CSOs have as actors in the domain of peacebuilding. As the Senior Officer stated, accustomed to conducting bottom-up activities at grassroots level, CSOs generally have the necessary contacts to people and are familiar with the specific social, historical and cultural contexts of the operational environment. Oftentimes, this type of familiarity with the local milieu is a prerequisite for the successful implementation of activities advancing stability and peace. Furthermore, although the Senior Officer noted how CSOs' role in peacebuilding tends to be of a complementary nature, they are usually the leaders in unofficial peace negotiations. Thus, examining the role of CSOs in peacebuilding is utilized as a way of elucidating the Senior Officer's viewpoints on the research subject.

CSOs and peacebuilding were already discussed rather extensively in the section 2.2.2. of this thesis. That section also covered the characteristics and capabilities CSOs' identity provides them with as well as what their advantages are in relation to other actors such as the state. In order to avoid repeating the same issues here, this section focuses mainly on discussing illustrative examples of different types of peace-advancing activities CSOs have conducted. The Senior Officer also emphasized development

diaspora organizations' potential in peacebuilding since they also have the necessary extensive networks that are oftentimes a prerequisite for successful interventions. Since especially in the case of Somalia, many CSOs operating in the country are diaspora organizations, two paragraphs looking at diaspora organizations and peacebuilding were also included in this section.

A study by the Swedish development agency Sida examined 69 development cooperation projects conducted between 1999 and 2000 by Swedish CSOs in areas of crisis and conflict with the objective to either generate or maintain peace. Either functioning wholly at grassroots level or also addressing leaders of associations and relevant social sectors, their projects cover a wide variety of topics from education to dialogue and human rights to trauma processing. Scrutinizing civil society's capacity to act as a force for peace, the final report of the study detailed 80 different ways in which these projects aimed to contribute to peace by either attempting to influence the dynamics of the conflict or striving to create a more suitable environment for peaceful management and resolution of the conflict. (Åkerlund, 2001, p.12.) In more detail, the report divides the projects into separate categories according to the nature of their contributions. While projects placed under the conflict transformation label seek to impact the dynamics of the conflict, projects categorized under the peacebuilding label aim to generate structures that promote and secure peace. Characterized by a long-term perspective, projects under the peacebuilding label are further divided into three categories which are the development of norms and knowledge, the development and support of institutions for peaceful conflict management, and the elimination of structural risk factors. (ibid.)

The author of Sida's report, Åkerlund (2001, p. 4, p. 15), shares the MFA's Senior Officer's view in noting how there is good peacebuilding potential in civil society. Moreover, the Senior Officer also agrees with Åkerlund (ibid.) in that although development cooperation conducted by CSOs can entail a peacebuilding capacity which ought to be promoted and fortified, it alone cannot lead to peace. In explaining this further, Åkerlund (ibid.) claims this is partly because external CSOs do not have the ability to create peace for people in other countries. What external CSOs can do, however, is to support local organizations that do peace work. This can be done, for instance, by providing resources for local peace processes such as giving support in hosting peace talks and by working in identifying and supporting local structures for peace such as traditional conflict management mechanisms. (ibid., p. 15.) Albeit the report examines development cooperation conducted by Swedish CSOs, the illustrative examples of development cooperation projects and the related theoretical ponderings are relevant globally (ibid., pp. 4-5).

As regards the geographical focus of this thesis – Somalia – there are a number of positive experiences on how development cooperation projects conducted by CSOs have contributed to peace. For

instance, one such project has been carried out by a CSO named the Swedish Life and Peace Institute in north-eastern Somalia, Puntland, from 1992 onwards. As one of its core activities in the project, the CSO has conducted grassroots level peacebuilding by supporting traditional decision-making structures. Indeed, with no national government in place, several forms of decentralized self-governance have spread in Somalia which has improved security on local level in areas where local authorities are strong and effective. In practice, traditional local leaders such as village elders, municipal leaders and religious leaders who are viewed as trustworthy by their communities have been given support by the CSO in taking a leading role in peacebuilding processes. Held at local level, traditional public meetings involving the general public have provided an alternative as well as brought balance to the power held by local warlords. These ways of developing, fortifying and mobilizing traditional institutions for conflict management are supported widely by Somalis. (ibid., pp. 94-95.)

As the MFA's Senior Officer explained, there are several official and unofficial 'tracks' in peacebuilding and peace mediation. Åkerlund (2001, p.42) also notes how non-governmental actors' activities in the domain of peacebuilding are oftentimes discussed with regard to these tracks. Referring to unofficial diplomacy carried out by CSOs and private persons, Joseph Montville, an American diplomat, came up with the notion 'Track Two diplomacy'. Where Track One diplomacy conducted by governments and states benefits from the availability of resources and the related fact that facets such as these are able to "put force behind their words" (ibid.), they are simultaneously hindered by diplomacy since states have difficulties keeping a low profile especially with today's omnipresent media. Moreover, a state interfering with another state's intrastate conflict might be accused of intervening in internal affairs and promoting national interests. Overall, the benefits and disadvantages of Track Two diplomacy are widely the same as those of Track One. Where in Track Two, CSOs experienced in conflict transformation and peacebuilding lack power and might not be taken seriously, they have the advantage of being able to test and experiment with new ideas and approaches in bringing about peace. Additionally, where CSOs lack resources, they are not accused of advocating national interests or not intervening in a conflict – an accusation some states might face. (ibid., pp. 42-43.) In explaining how the MFA and CSOs can cooperate in the domain of peacebuilding, the Senior Officer acknowledged:

"If the unofficial peacebuilding process [track] is at a dead end, the MFA can support the more unofficial tracks or channels of peacebuilding such as those conducted by CSOs. This can create a foundation for peace, especially in an environment with an ongoing state of war."

Furthermore, the MFA's Senior Officer mentioned how the existence of an active Somali diaspora in Finland contributed to the decision to provide funding for the Sahansaho project. Indeed, according to the Senior Officer, the fact that the Somali diaspora has organized themselves well, especially in the

form of CSOs which have the necessary links to locals in Somalia, has been beneficial to the MFA. As Horst et al. (2010, p. 9) explain, diaspora participation in development cooperation and peacebuilding can take many forms of which one example are the remittances sent by individuals to organizations conducting projects in their country of origin. In addition to mastering the local language(s), diasporas tend to have valuable context-specific knowledge of their motherland such as what specific cultural practices are adhered to and what are the most recent developments that have taken place in society (ibid., p. 12). Oftentimes, members of diaspora also have the benefit of being able to follow the local media including televised broadcasts and newspapers in the local language(s) (Erdal & Horst, 2000, p. 9 quoted in Horst et al., 2000, p. 12). By forwarding issues spoken about in the media to external actors, diasporas can keep them up-to-date on any new developments. Furthermore, in comparison to members of other CSOs, diaspora members oftentimes have the advantage of being able to access areas viewed as inaccessible to others. In Somalia, for instance, security reasons prohibit international development actors from working in southern or central Somalia, and consequently, development efforts are typically operated out of Nairobi. Therefore, such security issues also render the Somali diaspora a significant actor in aid distribution. (Horst et al., 2000, p. 12.)

On the other hand, the assumed added value brought by diasporas' participation has been questioned (ibid., pp. 10-11). It is indeed wrong to suppose that such additional value exists in each instance, since it is rather context-specific and oftentimes not equally entailed in all diaspora members involved. For example, there are differences in the benefits and constraints attached to cooperation with small and medium-sized CSOs as well as with larger development CSOs. It is also noteworthy to recall that being a member of diaspora is not the same as being a professional development worker, and therefore, a separation ought to be made between professional and voluntary initiatives. (ibid.) Additionally, the so-called 'insider perspectives' linked to diaspora members are questioned for several other reasons. While some claim migrants are not necessarily on a par with local actors, others note diaspora members might not have lived or even visited their country of origin for a long time and thus, knowledge on local issues and links to locals might have passed their best before date. This is especially the case in conflict situations where the environment can change rather rapidly. Moreover, living abroad can alter a person's way of life, perceptions and other customs and therefore, diaspora members might not be able to fully comprehend the context of their motherland. (ibid., p. 12.) All in all, Horst's et al. (ibid.) main argument is that the knowledge and experience that members of diaspora are oftentimes linked with ought not to be taken for granted.

In his publication, Goodhand (2006, p.119) discusses a development cooperation project carried out by the NGO Afghan Development Association in the geographically isolated Uruzgen province located in southern Afghanistan. The province locates on an ethnic fault line with occasional open conflicts with

the Hazara and Pashtun ethnic groups. The Association's aim was to get the two ethnic groups to cooperate with one another through the identification of common interests as well as to reduce the likeliness of mobilization along ethnic lines. The project established several concrete results such as the construction and support of schools, fruit-tree nurseries and micro-hydropower stations and the distribution of improved seeds. Moreover, several villages received electricity, schools were running after several years and agricultural production increased. (ibid.) Referring to the above type of examples, the MFA's Senior Officer noted how "CSOs often provide those services considered to serve basic human needs because the government is unable to provide them. These services are often a prerequisite for peace". Hakkarainen and Kontinen (2007, p. 328) are of the same opinion, stating that CSOs have a significant role in providing and strengthening basic social services such as health care and education in situations where the local government is incapable of doing so. Although the main objective of building peace was not as easy to evaluate, the Association however stated that indicative of the advancement of peace were the facts that Pashtu and Hazara students and teachers were attending the same schools and that communities' cooperation on the project continued. (Goodhand, 2006, p. 119.) Indeed, also reflective of these encouraging steps taken in Afghanistan, the MFA's Senior Officer rather aptly noted how "the work CSOs do can create trust in the development of societies amongst locals. Therefore, it acts as glue between people, for instance, in war-torn post-conflict societies". Since in some of the other parts in Afghanistan the Hazara and Pashtu were in an open conflict with one another and would never cooperate, the project's results were viewed as a positive development. According to the Association, the project's successfulness based on its long-term commitment and the extensive knowledge it possessed of the local context. In addition to detailed analysis on the structure and relations of the local communities, knowledge had also been gathered on local leadership as well as on tribal and ethnic structures. When interviewing the locals partaking in the project activities, the Association found out that people participated mainly because of basic self-interest, in other words, due to an economic need and the shared ownership of resources. Although the Association was concerned that any large-scale military or political events might undermine the project benefits achieved so far, the Association was also hopeful in that after learning how to work together, the communities might have thus become more persistent to such external occurrences. (Goodhand, 2006, p. 119.)

2.4. Conclusion

This chapter discussed the concepts and theories of most importance to the study while from time to time, adding relevant remarks from the empirical data as a means to contrast them with one another. In the first part of this chapter, development cooperation and peacebuilding were both defined mainly as grassroots level processes conducted by various CSOs. In addition to furthering economic growth,

development cooperation aims to increase people's wellbeing, their access to education and opportunities in life. Where it is rather easy to measure the concrete results a development cooperation project has achieved – such as the number of new schools built - changes in attitudes are more difficult to evaluate (Koponen & Seppänen, 2007, p. 350). Rather than a top-down procedure relying partly on the utilization of military force, peacebuilding is understood as a bottom-up process partly consisting of mediation activities, projects and initiatives, which consequently – either directly or indirectly - contribute to the creation of more peaceful societies.

Previous studies have found that development cooperation can contribute to the advancement of peace in several ways. This thesis has concentrated on development cooperation projects conducted by CSOs such as the Sahasaho environmental project of the Network which was utilized as a case study. VITRI's Professor Emeritus' view on the significance of projects supporting livelihoods and food security is shared, for instance, by the UNEP report (Halle, 2009) which notes how the environment and natural resources can contribute to peacebuilding by developing sustainable livelihoods, as well as by Egeland (2015, pp. xiii-xv) who states that the existence of sustainable livelihoods is vital in creating stable and peaceful societies.

As regards the Network's Project Coordinator's and the organization representatives' perceptions of the importance of cooperation and trust building as peace-advancing processes, theories on the interconnectedness of peace and social capital were examined. Indeed, the different ways in which social capital and violence link together influence people's trust with each other, their trust in institutions, or belonging to a certain group or organization, and can either bring about or prevent violence as well as impede or strengthen peacebuilding efforts (Cox, 2009, p.1).

Lastly, theories on the role of CSOs as peacebuilders were examined as a means to comprehend the MFA's Senior Officer's viewpoints. The primary data (especially the interview with the MFA's Senior Officer), the reports (such as that by Sida) and the more theoretical readings (i.a. Goodhand, 2006) all refer to the 'supportive' or 'complementary' role of CSOs where they, for example, "support the prospects of peace in areas of crisis and conflict" (Åkerlund, 2001, p. 12). Where CSOs possess good potential to act as leaders in the more unofficial Track Two level of mediation, diaspora organizations oftentimes have the necessary social networks in and context-specific knowledge of the country where peacebuilding and development cooperation activities are carried out (Horst et al., 2000).

As was previously discussed, although prior research on the ways in which development cooperation can contribute to peacebuilding does exist, it is still rather limited in scope. These studies are often executed by NGOs or aid agencies conducting development cooperation and seek to detail how different projects and programmes have influenced the dynamics of a conflict or the various actors

involved. Moreover, Goodhand (2006, pp. 101-103) found that NGOs' impact on peacebuilding processes is rather small-scale and depends largely on when the intervention takes place as well as what the characteristics of the conflict and of the NGO in question are. This being said, there certainly is room for studies comparing and contrasting different actors' views on these issues. One reason for this is the growing involvement of both governmental and non-governmental actors who are working to solve the same issues, and consequently, could benefit from studies such as this. Furthermore, examining the ways development cooperation can advance peace might bring about new ideas regarding the types of activities CSOs can conduct as well as guaranteeing that their potential as peacebuilders is utilized as efficiently as possible.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter commences by explaining how the empirical data of this study was gathered by employing semi-structured interviews as the main method for data collection. After this, a brief summary is provided of the different organizations and facets the interviewees represent, and their relation to the Sahansaho project is also addressed. This is followed by a discussion on the two tools utilized for analyzing the data – namely, content analysis and frame analysis. Lastly, the chapter concludes by examining the ethical aspects and reliability of this study.

3.1. Data Collection and Sources

In qualitative research, interviews, questionnaires, observations as well as data collected from various documents form the central types of data sources. Depending on the research problem and the available material, these sources can be employed separately or in diverse combinations with one another. (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2009, p. 71.) In accordance with Tuomi and Sarajärvi's (ibid.) recommendation, this piece of qualitative research employs semi-structured – also known as theme-centered - interviews as the main method for data collection. Other sources of primary data include an unpublished logical framework analysis document the Network had drafted on the Sahansaho project, the Network's website as well as a telephone conversation with the Network's Project Coordinator where an update on the state of the Sahansaho project was discussed. In addition to this, the Network's former Coordinator was interviewed in order to gather background information on the organization. Furthermore, desk-based research concentrates on examining theories regarding development cooperation and peacebuilding as well as relevant reports by facets such as Sida and UNEP introducing case study examples on how different (development cooperation) projects have contributed to the advancement of peace in conflict-affected areas.

3.1.1. Sampling

Since the original thesis topic concerned the financing of the Somali Civil War through the exploitation of charcoal, the Network was contacted in the hope of finding suitable interviewee candidates with extensive knowledge on the subject, via, for instance, academic research. Initial communication with the Network was established at the end of August 2014 when an email inquiring about contacts was sent to the Network. Openness to alternative research topics relating to Somalia was also articulated to the Network due to an awareness of possible limitations in data collection regarding the original research subject.

As had been predicted, the Network's then Coordinator speculated that the chances to gather the data required by the initial research plan would be rather narrow. Instead, the Coordinator suggested that examining the ways in which development cooperation projects can advance peace might lead to more feasible research. Since the Network had two ongoing development cooperation projects – Sahansaho and Ramaad - in Somalia which it was conducting together with its member organizations and their partner organizations, there was a good possibility to find interviewees. Furthermore, the Coordinator pointed out that it would be also interesting to better understand how the member and partner organizations perceive peacebuilding as part of their projects, what type of practical examples there are of it and what challenges the organizations have possibly faced while carrying out these projects.

The decision to abandon the original thesis topic and to pursue the new theme was made during the first half of September 2014. Alongside with a request to conduct interviews, the Coordinator distributed the researcher's research proposal (both in Finnish and in English) to the Network's member organizations and their corresponding partner organizations via email. The email included the researcher's contact details and a suggestion to be in direct contact with her in order to set up interview times. This email also clarified that the study was not commissioned by the Network and that the Network's role was limited to aiding the researcher in finding suitable interviewees.

At first, only two member organization representatives replied and indicated their interest in taking part in an interview. Since the initial aim was to carry out around eight one-to-one interviews with different member or partner organization representatives, the researcher asked for the previously sent email to be re-circulated to the same recipients once more. This resulted in one partner organization representative agreeing to be interviewed. Since the three interviewees were all involved with the Sahansaho project, it was decided to select this project as a case study as well as to seek for more interviewee candidates who were participating in the same project. Since there were some difficulties in getting replies from other member and partner organization representatives, the supervisor of the thesis suggested interviewing other actors with differing relations to the Sahansaho development cooperation project. This approach would also provide a more multifaceted view on what the thesis was set out to answer. Following the advice of the thesis supervisor, three more individuals were contacted who all agreed to partake in an interview. They were a Professor Emeritus from VITRI, a Senior Officer from the MFA's Unit for Civil Society, and the Project Coordinator of the Sahansaho project employed by the Network. Initial contact with these individuals was made directly by the researcher via telephone.

3.1.2. On Sample Size

Issues relating to a suitable sample size are of concern to several researchers undertaking a qualitative study. Expressed in another manner, researchers contemplate how much data they ought to collect in

order for their research to tick the boxes for a scientific, representable and generalizable study. In practice, the number of informants utilized in a study depends on both the financial and temporal resources available for the researcher. Therefore, when deciding the size of a research sample, it has to be remembered that it is not only the collection of data but also its analysis that requires resources. Since a master's thesis is a way for a student to display learning in their particular field, sample size ought not to be viewed as the most significant criterion determining the value of their study. (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2009, p. 85.) Thus, it is not the size of the sample but rather the sustainability and depth of the interpretation of data which weighs more heavily (Eskola & Suoranta, 1996, p. 39 quoted in Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2009, p. 85).

In agreement with Eskola and Suoranta's (*ibid.*) above argument on sample size, the amount of interviews (six) conducted for this study was viewed as sufficient by both the researcher and the thesis supervisor. This opinion can be justified by the fact that qualitative research concentrates on describing a specific phenomenon or event, on comprehending action, and on providing theoretically meaningful interpretation of an occurrence. Unlike quantitative studies which require larger samples, qualitative research does not seek to make statistical generalizations and can thus rely on a comparably small sample. (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2009, p. 85.)

Due to a relatively small sample size, it is essential that the chosen informants know as much as possible about the phenomenon under examination. Therefore, in qualitative research, the selection of informants is not coincidental but must be carefully considered beforehand. (*ibid.*, p. 86.) This is why interviewing organization representatives was viewed as appropriate since these individuals would have comprehensive insights on the activities and aspirations relating to the Sahansaho development cooperation project. Additionally, the other three interviewees were chosen on the basis that they all have a link to the project via their professions and thus, they as well must possess extensive knowledge on issues relevant to the study.

3.1.3. Interviews

Semi-structured interviews - which are also referred to as theme-centered interviews - consist of predetermined themes and related preselected interview questions. Since the research framework indicates what is already known of the phenomenon under examination, it also impacts the preselection of themes. (*ibid.*, p. 75.) As regards this study, albeit the existence of predefined questions (see appendices 1-4) and topics the researcher wanted to address, adhering to the conversational style of semi-structured interviews gave space for more flexibility in comparison to a fully structured interview approach.

This was seen as ideal since the aim was to let the interviewees discuss the topic under examination in

their own words in order for their views and perceptions to be conveyed as clearly as possible. As Hirsjärvi and Hurme (2001, p. 48 quoted in Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2009, pp. 74-75) point out, in a methodological sense, semi-structured interviews place emphasis on informants' own interpretations of the issues studied. Also of interest to the researcher are the ways meanings are given to certain issues and how these meanings are born in interaction (ibid.).

Although qualitative research frequently utilizes interviews as a method for collecting data, research basing on interviews has not been spared of criticism. However, this critique relates largely to methodological issues which can be solved with sufficient funding, training of interviewers as well as with perception gained from experience (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2009, p. 72). Nevertheless, Alasuutari (2001, p.106 quoted in Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2009, p. 72) does add to the above critique by noting that although we live in an individualistic culture, researchers ought to be critical about the view according to which the individual is at the center of the humane truth. By this, Alasuutari (ibid.) seeks to point out that albeit individuals' viewpoints have a place in research, no one particular method – for instance, interviews – is above others in findings out 'the truth'. Despite this criticism, in contrast to other tools of data collection such as online questionnaires, interviews are seen as a flexible research method since the interviewer has the possibility to repeat the interview questions, to correct any misunderstandings, and to clarify the wording of certain expressions. Moreover, while conducting a face-to-face interview, the interviewer can also act as an observer. In other words, it is not only what is being said, but how things are said that can be made notice of. (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2009, p. 73.)

In qualitative research, it is a question of preference as well as a question of tradition whether the exact same interview questions ought to be asked from all informants, whether they ought to be asked in a specific and identical order, and whether the wording of questions ought to be the same in each interview. The extent to which uniformity of the above issues is demanded varies from one research to the other. (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2009, p. 75.) In this study, it was not always possible to adhere to the exact same wording of interview questions in each interview since, at times, questions had to be rephrased in situations where the interviewee did not understand the question on first attempt. However, this was not seen as a hindrance since the semi-structured interview style does not demand complete uniformity of interviews. Moreover, not asking each question as it was written out on paper seemed to improve to conversational style of the interviews.

Each of the six semi-structured interviews carried out between February 2015 and December 2015 were recorded. Depending on whether an interview was carried out face-to-face, via telephone or via Skype, it was audiotaped either with a voice recording device installed in the researcher's smartphone or a voice recording software programme installed in the researcher's laptop. Permission to record the interview was always asked from the interviewees beforehand. Recording the interviews permitted the

researcher to focus on the interviewees' replies as well as to comply with the responsive and interactive quality of semi-structured interviews. The interviews were transcribed as soon as possible after each interview had finished.

Out of the six interviewees, two were representatives of the Network's member organizations involved in the Sahansaho project. Additionally, one was a representative of a member organization's (SSHDA) partner organization. Due to their professional roles as CSO representatives, they had similar types of relations to the Sahansaho project. This rendered it possible to look for similarities and differences in the answers they provided in the interviews. On the other hand, the other three interviewees - the Network's Project Coordinator, the Professor Emeritus at VITRI and the Senior Officer at the MFA - all had a differing relation to the Sahansaho project due to their professional roles. This enabled a more multifaceted view to be attained on the ways peace can be advanced via development cooperation.

Out of the three organization representatives involved in the Sahansaho project two were members of CSOs registered in Finland and the third was a member of a Somali partner organization. The CSOs in Finland were the PC and the SSHDA and the Somali organization was the NDO.

Next, a brief outline of each organization's background and main activities is provided:

Coordinator of the Sahansaho project/ Puntland Community PC was registered as an association in Finland in 1998. However, it has had activities since 1993. The association was founded by a group of people from the Puntland region of northeastern Somalia who immigrated to Finland in the early 1990s. Since ideas and plans regarding PC's activities always originate from its members, the association was established as an answer to the concern Somali immigrants had of their own and their children's integration into the Finnish society. As part of the integration activities, PC organizes basic Finnish language and computer courses and acts as an interest organization in relation to Finnish authorities. In addition to this, PC conducts development cooperation outside Finland. As regards the Sahansaho project, PC has a partner organization HRRO in Somalia which operates in one of the project sites located in Galkaayo. As the Coordinator of the Sahansaho project in the PC, the interviewee is the person responsible for the project's activities from the organization's perspective.

Project Coordinator and Secretary/ Sool, Sanaag & Hawd Development Association Initially established in the United States and Canada, SSHDA registered as a sub-association in Finland in 2004. Some of its first activities in Finland included raising funds from its members in order to build schools and renovate hospitals in Somalia. SSHDA has also provided humanitarian aid, for instance, in 2004, when Somalia faced a severe drought. In 2009, SSHDA received funding from the MFA for a small-scale nomadic project in which a village school was renovated, wells were maintained and animals' watering places were repaired. Due to the project's successfulness, the same project has been carried

out in several other villages in Somalia. SSHDA has been cooperating with its Somali partner organization, the NDO, from 2009 onwards. The interviewee who is the Project Coordinator and Secretary of the SSHDA acts as the contact person of the Sahansaho project in the organization. He conducts follow-ups on the utilization of finances and is involved in monitoring and reporting on the activities related to the project.

Coordinator/ Nomadic Development Organization Established in 2004 and registered in 2009, NDO operates in Buhodle, in northern Somalia. NDO aims to build and strengthen the capacity of the local nomadic communities as a means of promoting development in the region. In addition to this, NDO seeks to improve the security situation in the area through local peacebuilding initiatives. Other activities of NDO include, for instance, leadership activities and supporting the establishment of the Mother and Child Health Clinic in Buhodle. As the Coordinator of the NDO, the interviewee is also involved in the Sahansaho project and conducts administrative tasks related to it.

Below is a brief outline of the other three individuals' job descriptions and relations to the Sahansaho project:

Project Coordinator/ Finnish Somalia Network The Project Coordinator of the Sahansaho project ensures that knowledge is communicated between the member organizations and other actors involved. Various practical tasks consist of collecting project reports from the partner organizations and writing annual monitoring reports sent to the MFA. Since all the accounting of the project is conducted in Finland, the Project Coordinator also keeps track of the finances of the project – for instance, by going through all the receipts relating to the project costs - which constitutes a large entirety of her work. Additionally, the Project Coordinator invites the steering group of the project for meetings, runs the meetings and acts as a secretary in these meetings.

Professor Emeritus of Tropical Silviculture/ Viikki Tropical Resource Institute VITRI forms a part of the Department of Forest Sciences at the University of Helsinki. With an over three decade long research experience from locations such as South Sudan and Kenya, it studies the interaction between people and natural resources, especially as regards the usage of natural resources in destroyed and arid tropical areas. A two-member team – the Professor Emeritus and a doctoral student – from VITRI have been involved in the Sahansaho project since its pilot phase in 2012. During the pilot phase, the doctoral student traveled to Somalia to carry out a background evaluation on the state of the environment at the three project sites. Additionally, the Professor Emeritus acts as a consultant in the project. In practice, this means providing valuable knowledge on, for instance, the most suitable tree species to be planted in the project locations. He is also a member of the steering group of the Sahansaho project.

Senior Officer/Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland The Senior Officer works at the Unit for Civil Society at the MFA and is the contact person of the Network in the Ministry regarding the Sahansaho project. She prepares funding decisions on development cooperation projects for which CSOs have applied for which are then sent onwards to the Minister for Foreign Trade and Development for approval. Additionally, she is the Desk Officer in certain CSO programmes and projects which relate to themes such as democracy, human rights, and fragile states. Her work also includes administration and monitoring of funded programmes and projects. Her responsibility for small and medium-sized organizations receiving project support includes mainly CSOs active in Somalia.

3.2. Analytical Tools

Employing more than one method in order to analyze data is indeed not uncommon in qualitative research. As noted by Välliverronen (2014, pp. 148-149), performing an initial analysis of research material by utilizing content analysis aids the researcher in gaining a general understanding of the whole data set. Following this, research data can be scrutinized more closely with another method such as framing. As per the recommendations of Välliverronen (ibid.), the six interviews conducted for the purpose of this thesis were analyzed by applying a combination of content analysis and framing. Whereas content analysis was employed as the basis of analysis, frame analysis was utilized as a way of furthering the analysis.

3.2.1. Abductive Approach

Qualitative research oftentimes makes usage of either the inductive or the deductive form of data analysis which refer to certain logic of reasoning. Whereas the inductive approach advances from specific to general – or in other words, from data to theory - the deductive approach moves the opposite direction - from theory to data. In addition to these two ways of reasoning, a third approach – the abductive approach – also exists. Although there are connections to theory, the abductive approach does not, however, have a direct basis in theory. In other words, theory formation is possible when observations relate to a leading thought. (Alasuutari, 1994; 1996 quoted in Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2009, p. 95.)

In the abductive approach, analysis tends to be rather data-grounded at first and theory is brought in at a later stage and employed in further examining the collected data. This way, theory is used in aiding the progress of data analysis. Moreover, although the units of analysis are chosen from the data, earlier knowledge provides a direction for this. Therefore, rather than utilized in testing theory, prior knowledge is applied in opening new lines of thought. (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2009, pp. 96-97.)

3.2.2. Content Analysis

Content analysis can be utilized both as a research method and as a wide theoretical frame which can be connected to different analytical entireties. When viewed as a broad theoretical frame of written, heard or observed data, most analytical methods in qualitative research base on content analysis in one way or another. (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2009, p. 91-92.)

As noted by Tuomi and Sarajärvi (*ibid.*), content analysis can be performed on several types of material such as transcribed interviews which was also the case in this study. Thus, in this piece of research, the initial stage of data analysis was carried out with content analysis. This assisted the researcher in receiving a broad overview of the interview data, and enabled recurring themes to be observed. The usage of content analysis also set the base for further analysis of the data.

In content analysis, documents such as interviews, reports, dialogues and almost anything in a written form are examined in an objective and systematic manner (Kyngäs & Vanhanen, 1999 quoted in Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2009, p. 103). The aim of this method is to produce a summarized and generalized form of the researched phenomenon (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2009, p. 103). Processing qualitative data basis on logical reasoning and interpretation where at first, data is split into pieces, conceptualized and finally, constructed again in a new manner into a logical entirety (Hämäläinen, 1987; Strauss & Cobin, 1990; Atkinson et al., 2000 quoted in Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2009, p. 108).

In discussing the different steps of content analysis in more detail, Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2009, pp. 92-93), begin by noting how, as a starting point, the phenomenon about to be studied has to be specific and narrow enough. Once this has been confirmed, the data is transcribed or coded. Although there is no one particular way in which coding ought to be performed, its meaning is to categorize the issues the researcher is examining as well as to act as a tool describing the data. After transcribing or coding, the data is classified, typed, or themed. (*ibid.*) In this study, the interview transcripts were read through carefully several times with the main research question in mind while observing and marking down several recurring themes. Although the classification, typing, or theming of data is oftentimes seen as the actual part of analysis, the two initial phases must be performed first (*ibid.*).

As regards the creation of themes – an activity conducted also in this thesis - Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2009, p. 93) note how the core idea is to split and group the data according to different topics which enables the occurrence of certain issues to be compared. Despite being somewhat similar to classification, theming emphasizes what has been said about each topic, and thus, the idea is to examine individuals' views describing a certain issue. (*ibid.*) Moreover, manifestations such as logic of action and typical narratives can be looked for in the data (Eskola, 1992 quoted in Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2009, p. 93). At this part of the analysis, the researcher ought to have an idea whether attention is given to

similarities or differences in the data (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2009, p. 93). In relation to this study, it was expected that where the three organization representatives might possess rather similar views on the research subject, the three other individuals who all have very different connections to the Sahansaho project might have rather divergent outlooks on the subject. Thus, it was decided that the empirical data would be scrutinized for both similarities and differences.

By organizing the collected material, content analysis prepares the data to a form which allows conclusions to be drawn from it (Grönfors, 1982, p. 161 quoted in Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2009, p. 103). Due to this, content analysis has been accused of being incomplete. Critics claim that although different phases of content analysis might be rigorously described, oftentimes meaningful conclusions are not drawn. Instead, organized data is presented as results of the study. (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2009, p. 103.) Since the above critical remarks on content analysis must be taken into consideration in the light of this thesis also, it was decided to employ framing as a supplementary research method in furthering data analysis and consequently, avoiding its incompleteness.

Despite some criticism, content analysis has been praised for organizing data into a concise and clear form without losing its inner meaning. Indeed, the purpose is to increase the value of information by seeking to transform scattered data into meaningful, clear and unified knowledge. (Hämäläinen, 1987; Burns & Grove, 1997; Strauss & Cobin, 1990; 1998 quoted in Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2009, p. 108.) This is again a strong argument illustrating why content analysis is a good starting point in data analysis of this research since the aim is to convey the interviewees' own perceptions on the topic scrutinized.

3.2.3. Frame Analysis

In this study, frame analysis – as defined by Erving Goffman and Esa Välvärrönen - is employed in combination with another method suitable for analyzing qualitative data, namely, content analysis. In his chapter, Välvärrönen (2014, pp. 148-149) discusses how he has utilized this type of 'double-strategy' in his previous research both in relation to selecting data and analyzing it. Välvärrönen (ibid.) recommends content analysis to be applied first in gaining a wider view of the data after which framing can be used in order to interpret the data more profoundly. With regard to this study, framing provided an opportunity to extensively examine the interviewed individuals' viewpoints on how development cooperation can contribute to peacebuilding in conflict-affected environments.

Regarding conceptual history, 'frames' originate from cognitive psychology and symbolic interactionism (ibid., p. 139). Therefore, a discussion on the central features of frames and framing can hardly be performed without reference to the American sociologist Erving Goffman who studied symbolic interactionism widely. Indeed, the notion frame stems from Goffman's publication *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. In his publication, Goffman concentrates on the day-to-day

interaction between people. Instead of being predetermined, it was this type of daily social interaction, Goffman (1974 quoted in Väliverronen, 2014, p. 139) believed, that gave shape to the nature and meaning of things.

As Väliverronen (2014, p. 139) puts it, at its simplest, frames are interpretations employed in observing, recognizing and naming things. When a researcher uses framing as a research method, he or she selects and delimits a certain theme in order to view it in a comprehensible form. By doing so, framing arranges isolated events and phenomena into a perceivable entity with its unique causes and consequences. (ibid., p. 140) As an example of this, researcher of journalism, Gaye Tuchman, has utilized framing in media research. Analyzing reporters' working processes in newsrooms, Tuchman found that as regards political news, politics was routinely framed either as debate, competition, game or theatre. Thus, Tuchman's findings illustrate the established practices, routines and the cultural meaning of journalism in relation to the types of representations of reality journalism produces. (ibid., p. 139-140.) In analyzing the empirical data of this study, a total of three broad frames were identified, named and their most central characteristics described. Although generating much narrower frames is also possible, it would not be feasible in a small-scale study such as a master's thesis, since the amount of frames might increase rather rapidly.

Goffman's (1974, p. 2) interests did not lie in the actions which take place, but instead, in the ways these actions are comprehended and defined. Indeed, it is essential to speak of ways in plural instead of singular. The reason for this is that people can have considerably different views of the same event. This is what Goffman (1974, p. 8) referred to as 'situational perspective'. In more detail, people's motivations and interests, levels of focus, temporal involvement as well as actions performed in relation to a certain situation or event can all vary from one another rather greatly. Väliverronen (2014, p. 140) is of the same opinion in stating how it is always possible to define phenomena and events from different interpretational frames. This means that events will look different according to the frame used. Therefore, the varying ways of framing emphasize certain aspects of an issue while simultaneously covering and limiting other angles. (ibid.) This is again one indication illustrating why frame analysis is a suitable research method for this study which seeks to compare and contrast individuals' viewpoints.

When a person comes across a familiar event, he or she forms her actions towards that event by employing a 'primary framework', something that gives meaning to an otherwise meaningless event (Goffman, 1974, p. 21). Goffman (1974, p. 20) acknowledges that these frameworks are basic and are thus the beginning of frame analysis. In Goffman's opinion, there are two types of primary frameworks: natural and social. Where the prior refers to undirected and non-manipulated events, the latter gives some basic-level comprehension on events where people's motivations and agency are central. Therefore, all social (primary) frameworks entail rules (Goffman, 1974, pp. 22-24).

According to Goffman (1974, p. 27), each social group has a certain set of social frameworks which are central to the group's culture. Therefore, in seeking to understand how a specific group comprehends things, it is essential to construct a view of the group's 'framework of frameworks'. Välvirronen (2014, p. 149) acknowledges it may also be interesting for a researcher to examine which institutions the different actors in a discussion represent, what is the position of these institutions in society, and what are the typical discourses of these institutions. Moreover, one might want to look at how the actors capitalize on the societal position and the typical discourses of the institution they represent. Answering these questions will help the researcher to comprehend why certain frames dominate at a certain time. There is a good opportunity to do the above in this study, since the six interviewees represent different facets (CSO, ministerial and academic) that naturally have different types of connections to the Sahansaho project.

In discussing the various phases of framing, Välvirronen (2014) suggests starting by mapping the different themes and actors from the data as well as describing the researched phenomenon. In addition, events ought to be tied to social and cultural contexts. Following this, frames should be separated from one another and described. Here, different tools employed in framing including metaphors, examples, phrases, punchlines, descriptions of events and actions as well as visual images can be of help (Välvirronen, 1996; Karvonen, 2000 quoted in Välvirronen, 2014, p. 140). The specific tools chosen impact largely on what kind of representation is constructed. Since this study asked the interviewees to describe, for instance, how the Sahansaho project has contributed to peacebuilding at the local level in Somalia, and how the promotion of inter-clan cooperation can enhance peace, examples as well as descriptions of events and actions were the most utilized tools.

A typical problem with frame analysis is examining a frame and an opinion as one and the same. Välvirronen (2014, p. 149) suggests that the solution for this is to go further and to think about the deeper influencing thinking and speaking manners which define how and why a conversation is performed. Moreover, Carragee and Roefs (2004 quoted in Välvirronen, 2014, p. 141) criticize framing for the lack of critical analysis of social power. Välvirronen (2014, p. 141) notes that this critique is justifiable since, similarly to content analysis, frame analysis has the tendency of only producing descriptive data. However, this shortage does not necessarily depend on the method itself but perhaps more on how it is applied. Indeed, frame analysis is easy to complement with other suitable theoretical concepts and viewpoints. (ibid.)

3.3. Ethical Considerations

In qualitative research, it is especially important to consider the ethical aspects of a study since data is oftentimes collected in interviews or in other similar instances which include social interaction between

individuals. By and large, research ethics can be seen to refer to the researcher's actions and behaviour in conducting the study. In practice, this means that the object of the study (usually, the interviewee) must be informed properly, their anonymity must be guaranteed if so required, and the methods of data collection and analysis must be credible. (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2009, p. 125.) With regard to this study, the suitability of the research methods employed was discussed earlier in this chapter. Additionally, the general aim and progress of the research were explained to each participant, they were given the possibility to remain anonymous and consent for recording the interviews was asked beforehand. Moreover, the participants were notified that they could ask for clarification on any issues concerning the research and their participation in it at any stage.

Selection of a research subject can be viewed as an ethical decision in itself, and thus, the researcher ought to clarify on whose terms the subject has been chosen and why the study is conducted in the first place. Answers to such ethical considerations can be identified by scrutinizing the aim of the research or the way in which the research problem has been formulated. (Kalkas, 1995 quoted in Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2009, p. 129). Defining the research subject is also a broader consideration relating to the discipline in question, since each discipline has its own specific starting point values, the idea of man and aims of action. Moreover, the research setting of a study entails several presumptions: it can imply from whose viewpoint the study is approached, what is the (power) relation of the actors examined and whether the topic scrutinized is seen as normative. (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2009, pp. 129-130.)

As was discussed earlier in this thesis, the research topic originated from the then Coordinator of the Network as an alternative suggestion for the initial idea to examine how the Somali Civil War has been funded through the exploitation of charcoal which was deemed as impossible to study due to issues regarding data collection. Obviously, there might be some biased reasons explaining why the Coordinator suggested the very topic to be researched such as wanting to offer an alternative to the negative news relating to Somalia, and seeking to promote the work the Network conducts. Albeit the possible existence of such underlying motives, it does not mean the Coordinator had an impact on the answers the thesis produced nor could she influence the critical examination of the research subject. Moreover, although the researcher herself had a somewhat normative view of development cooperation especially in the beginning of the study, the critical examination of the subject during the creation of the theoretical framework ensured that an impartial as possible standpoint would be taken also towards the Sahansaho project. As regards the research setting, the locations of the six interviews were decided according to what was convenient for each interviewee.

3.4. Considerations on Reliability

With regard to questions of truth and objectivity of a study, a distinction must be made between

reliability and impartiality of observations. Considerations on impartiality are relevant in pondering whether the researcher has tried to listen and comprehend the informants themselves, or whether the matters discussed by the informants have been filtered through the researcher's own frame in which issues such as gender, age, religion or nationality have an impact on what is heard and observed. In practice, the above inevitably takes place in qualitative research where the researcher is both the one who creates and interprets the research setting. Since it is impossible for the researcher to be fully objective, it is essential that any factors impacting on the interpretation of data are discussed in the research paper. (ibid., pp. 135-136.)

The issue of interpreting interviewees' viewpoints might be further challenged, especially if there is a language barrier between the researcher and the informant as was, at times, the case with the partner organization representative interviewed. Since the interviewee was in Somalia, the interview had to be conducted via Skype which meant that observing body language was not possible either. However, utilizing Skype was a justifiable choice when considering the financial and temporal limitations at hand which inevitably impact the scope of data collection methods available for the researcher. Nevertheless, the issue with language barrier was tackled by emailing the interview transcript to the interviewee in order for him to read it through and comment on with the help of a colleague who had a good command of both English and Somali languages.

As is the case in all qualitative research, it cannot be claimed in this study either that the research was fully separate from the researcher's background and perspectives. Since especially in the beginning of the study, the researcher had a somewhat normative standpoint towards development cooperation, it might have had an impact on what types of questions were asked during the interviews. However, after having familiarized herself more with the central debates related to the topic, the researcher's view on development cooperation became more multifaceted by also better acknowledging the complexity of the topic. In seeking to conduct the interpretation of data as reliably as possible and minimizing the effect of any personal values that might have an impact on the results, the researcher regularly questioned how each conclusion had been arrived at and ensured that the conclusions always based on the collected data. As a way of conveying this to the reader, the steps taken during data analysis were written down in as much detail as possible (see Chapter 4).

Chapter 4: Analysis and Findings

This chapter commences by discussing the interviewees' definitions of peace. Following this, the chapter details the steps taken in analyzing the empirical data of this thesis as well as presenting the findings of the analysis. Mainly consisting of six semi-structured interviews, the empirical data was analyzed utilizing a combination of content analysis and frame analysis. Where content analysis was applied in gaining a broad overview of the interview data, frame analysis was employed in better comprehending the ways in which the interviewees construct meaning of the research subject.

4.1. Definitions of Peace

To begin with, since the Network's Project Coordinator noted that the concept 'peace' had not been separately defined in relation to the Sahansaho project, there were some initial concerns about the possibility that the interviewees who come from various backgrounds might not have an identical enough perception of peace, and consequently, that their viewpoints could not be compared among each other. Therefore, this issue was solved by asking each interviewee about how the facet they represent defines peace. Below are answers from all the six interviewees:

PC "There are so many different things...there is almost an uncountable number of factors. [...] There are both visible and invisible factors. The invisible things include population growth, this is the biggest invisible factor. [...] Then there is youth unemployment and resources of which the latter is also a visible factor. [...] The visible factors include fighting between tribes and militia. According to Sahansaho project, our main idea is that women should be integrated and partake in political kind of things. Because if women are not involved, the other option is that they do not work and they just make children. If you do not have a good education in the beginning it can do harm [...] If there is more than 35% of youth unemployment, it is almost sure that you will have conflict because these young people do not have anything and everyone can use them. Another thing is that Somaliland wants to be independent from the rest of the Somalia. So this is also a big problem: one tribe supports independence [of Somaliland], some other does not. There is so much more."

SSHDA "Having peace means that there are no clan wars on a local level, that there are no feuds and people live in harmony, trade runs well between cities, villages and clans, and that there are no isolated areas which do not support one another. It means these projects [we are conducting] have a safe environment to develop and that we also can visit different places and that there is no violence directed to our employees. It also means that no extreme phenomena are born and people are able to receive information from abroad, that there is no falsified information, but accurate information about the world on the whole."

NDO "We define peace and security as not only the absence of violence or conflict but a condition that ensures positive development of individuals or a community. Peace and security ensures healthy environment for a

society to carry out social and economic activities without fear of violence or harassment. It helps communities to coexist together, share resources and have avenues to address competing interests in a just and healthy manner. It also guarantees the condition for social and economic welfare and equality. Every interaction and the people who take part in the interactions can promote peace. Peace is fundamental for life.”

The Network According to the Project Coordinator, peace has not been defined with regard to the work of the Network. In light of the fact that “advancing peace is a so-called cross-cutting theme of the [Sahansaho] project” (Diallo, 2015a), it is rather interesting that peace has not been separately defined as regards the project either. However, in discussing the advancement of peace in the Sahansaho project, the Network’s Project Coordinator stated how:

“There is this idea in the project that when cooperative steps are created we are moving beyond physical and psychological borders and this in itself upholds the structures supporting peace or creates a network of trust. For instance, the partner organizations in Somalia have never cooperated with one another prior to this project. I have heard that in the beginning it was difficult for people to travel to other organizations’ project regions. [...] But now when people know each other they trust one another. At the moment, the coordinators of organizations call each other a lot and ask for advice and if they are travelling on other errands they might drop by at each other’s project sites. So here we have achieved a good state in relation to networking. This also aids the organizations in creating further relations with other organizations. This does not only take place between organizations but also between tribes. This has been the idea in the project. Many people praise this way of acting. It bears fruit, it creates real relations between people and builds trust. So the peace perspective is present everywhere in the project through this.”

VITRI The Professor Emeritus emphasized how projects striving to use land in a sustainable manner and provide food for people can promote peace. Additionally, he was of the opinion that guaranteeing livelihoods for people and helping them to adjust to any changes occurring in their environment link strongly to peace.

MFA When asked about the MFA’s definition of peace, the Senior Officer referred to a publication by the MFA’s Unit for Development Communications named *Finland’s Development Policy and Development Cooperation in Fragile States – Guidelines for Strengthening Implementation of Development Cooperation*. The publication states how “equality and non-discrimination promote and strengthen peace” (MFA, 2014, p.16) as well as how:

“Finland’s development policy and cooperation in fragile states and situations focuses particularly on the support that is given for the pillars of democracy important for lasting peace – an independent judiciary, freedom of expression, association and assembly, organization and monitoring of free and fair elections, democratic functioning of political parties, accountability of central and local government, and freedom of civil society.” (ibid., p.17)

In addition to this, the publication notes that:

“For lasting peace and internal stability, it is important that social cohesion, effective state-society relations and mutual trust are strengthened. It is therefore essential that women and men, girls and boys are committed to peace and stability and feel they are valued members of society.” (ibid., p.18)

Although the representative of the PC described his organization’s understanding of peace via referring to negative elements which prevent peace, he did not merely discuss issues such as violence and conflicts but acknowledged the link between employment, education and peace. The SSHDA’s representative painted a multifaceted view of peace where harmony between people and an equal access to unbiased information have central roles. Interestingly, but perhaps not surprisingly, SSHDA’s partner organization NDO had a very similar perception of peace that includes elements such as unproblematic coexistence and social equality. Although the Network’s Project Coordinator stated that peace had not been separately defined as regards the Sahansaho project nor the work they conduct as an organization, issues such as cooperation, establishment of relations and networks as well as trust building were mentioned several times when she explained how the Sahansaho project has advanced peace locally. VITRI’s representative, the Professor Emeritus, connected food security and livelihoods to peace which indicates that a sufficient standard of living and people’s – as well as the environment’s – wellbeing are important components of peace. Lastly, by referring to a publication by the MFA, the Senior Officer explained how the Ministry attaches elements such as equality and non-discrimination to peace.

To summarize, several similar elements appeared in the interviewees’ definitions of peace. All of the interviewees viewed peace as more than the absence of war and violence, and emphasized issues such as cooperation, wellbeing, harmony and sufficient livelihoods. Due to this similarity of viewpoints, it was decided that comparing the interviewees’ perceptions would be a feasible approach.

4.2. Content Analysis and Its Results

The six interviews conducted for this thesis were all transcribed as soon as each interview had concluded. Since the interviews were recorded, each word was written down, thus leading to very detailed transcripts. Following this, the transcripts were read through several times with the main research question - how can development cooperation contribute to peacebuilding in conflict-affected contexts? - in mind. Additionally, since one of the objects of the thesis was to compare and contrast the ways different actors view the research subject, one of the two sub-questions - what are the elements actors representing different facets (ministerial, academic and CSO) emphasize with regard to the contributions development cooperation can make towards peace? - also provided guidance for performing content analysis. After the researcher felt that she was familiar enough with the content of

the interviews, they were read through once more while marking the themes that related most closely to the research question.

The issues marked from the interview transcripts were most similar amongst the three organization representatives and the Network's Project Coordinator, whereas VITRI's Professor Emeritus' and the MFA's Senior Officer's standpoints were rather different not only in relation to each other but also with regard to the rest of the views. Altogether, five categories detailing how the Sahansaho project has contributed – and can continue contributing - towards peace were detected from the interview transcripts of the organization representatives and the Network's Project Coordinator. These categories do not base on literature review but were produced by the researcher herself as part of the content analysis of the empirical data and functioned as a way of summarizing and examining the data. The five categories are:

1. Building public places
2. Inclusiveness
3. Dialogue
4. Cooperation
5. Trust building

As a way of explicating the meaning of each category, the central issues relating to them are detailed below:

Building public places The representative of the NDO discussed the importance of building public places such as schools and watering places as part of development cooperation projects that seek to advance peace. Such public places provide a space for social interaction to occur, which in turn can contribute to peacebuilding and support the sustainability of peace. Regarding the Sahansaho project, the public places are the environmental centers situated in all three project sites. These centers have a central role in the project. In them, locals are taught how to plant tree seedlings, public seminars are held on issues such as environmental awareness, and lastly, the centers also act as meeting places for the whole community. In other words, although the activities of the Sahansaho project do not solely take place in the environmental centers, the centers offer a concrete space in which issues such as inclusiveness, dialogue, cooperation and trust building can actualize.

Inclusiveness As both the Network's Project Coordinator and the SSHDA's representative noted, in order to create lasting peace, it is important that people from all levels of society are included in the project on equal terms, and that project benefits are divided evenly. For instance, the partner organizations in Somalia were partly chosen to partake in the project on the basis that they have members from various different clans, since in this way, the project is more likely to promote inter-clan

cooperation. Moreover, the inclusion of women and minority clans living in the project areas has been separately defined in the Sahansaho project plan. However, the Project Coordinator of the Network noted that this issue had not yet been widely implemented in practice. Additionally, the representative of the SSHDA emphasized how even those groups which might be perceived as ‘the enemy’ by some, have been included in the project activities. Indeed, the representative noted:

“We also cooperate with the militia who has arrived in Somaliland and they participate, for instance, in the seminars and meetings on peace advancement so that [...] there would not be such a view that the militia is the enemy, and then there are normal people who are a different thing. Instead, all the parties of an area should come together for a meeting to discuss problems, development, and other issues.”

Dialogue As the representative of the SSHDA stated, dialogue is established in the Sahansaho project, for instance, when the locals gather to the environmental centers to discuss issues relating to environmental awareness and overall, to different aspects of the project. The representative saw dialogue as important in avoiding, for example, the unequal distribution of project benefits. As the representative acknowledged:

“People gather to discuss these things and there is communication on the project benefits, aim and budget so that there would not be a situation where a specific clan takes all the benefits and others are left with nothing.”

Cooperation All the three organization representatives and the Network’s Project Coordinator emphasized the importance of establishing cooperation. This actualizes, for instance, when local people visiting the environmental centers of the Sahansaho project perform several activities together which relate to taking care of the environment and natural resources. In addition to locals, clans and organizations that have never cooperated before have started to network with one another through the project activities. The four interviewees also agreed that cooperation is a prerequisite for the advancement of peace in the project areas. As the Network’s Project Coordinator stated:

“Advancing peace is a so-called cross-cutting theme of the project. There is this idea in the project that when people cooperate, we are moving beyond physical and psychological borders and this in itself upholds the structures supporting peace and creates a network of trust.”

Trust building As the Network’s Project Coordinator and the three organization representatives acknowledged, trust building which usually occurs as a consequence of cooperation is an important part of peacebuilding. The SSHDA’s representative noted how, in the beginning, it was difficult to bring people from different Somali clans together to the same project site because of the prejudice they had towards one another following the Civil War. However, when people finally came together and did things together, they had the opportunity to get to know each other. Prejudices began to fade away and many friendships were formed. Indeed, different Somali clans that have never interacted with one

another- at least, not in a peaceful manner- have begun to cooperate as a result of the project. As the SSHDA's representative stated, "it [the project] creates a link that binds people together".

Since the Professor Emeritus at VITRI and the Senior Officer at the MFA had differing relations to the project in comparison to the other four interviewees as well as vis-à-vis each other, the analysis of their interviews produced different kinds of results and categories. Their most central views and the categories in which these views are placed are discussed below:

Livelihoods, environmental factors and peacebuilding The Professor Emeritus was of the opinion that projects securing people's livelihoods and helping people to adjust to environmental changes can contribute to the advancement of peace in conflict-affected contexts. Moreover, in his view, projects aiming for sustainable use of land and other natural resources relate to questions on peace. One reason for this is that these types of projects link to food security since they produce food for people. Thus, when planning and executing a project, it is important not only to be familiar with the characteristics of the terrain but also to listen to the locals' wishes and needs and to know how the local community functions.

CSOs' role in peacebuilding The MFA's Senior Officer stated how, overall, both smaller and larger CSOs have an important role in development cooperation projects advancing peace. Indeed, CSOs' projects can help build harmony and social cohesion, as well as strengthen cooperation in local communities. Moreover, in fragile contexts such as Somalia, CSOs often offer services considered to cater to basic human needs such as health care and education because the government is unable to provide them. The existence of services such as these is often a prerequisite for peace. Additionally, the work of CSOs can create trust in the development of societies amongst locals and thus, it acts as glue between people in war-torn post-conflict societies. CSOs also have extensive networks at the national and local levels where they work. With regard to mediation activities, civil society often acts as a leader in the unofficial 'tracks' Two and Three. Furthermore, the diaspora can play an important role in peacebuilding projects conducted by CSOs. Indeed, the Senior Officer acknowledged that the MFA has benefitted from the existence of an active Somali diaspora who have organized themselves well (for instance, in the form of CSOs) and have the necessary links to Somalia which is often a prerequisite for successfully conducting development cooperation projects there. This being said, the Senior Officer views CSOs' role in peacebuilding as complementary.

Out of the three organization representatives interviewed, only the representative of the partner organization NDO discussed the importance of building public places (such as the environmental centers constructed as part of the Sahansaho project), since in his view, they provide a concrete space where cooperation, trust building, and other similar activities may occur. Moreover, the representative

of the SSHDA was the only one who separately mentioned the creation of dialogue as one of the ways in which the Sahansaho project has advanced peace on local level in Somalia. Additionally, the category 'inclusiveness' was only mentioned by two of the interviewees. Although all of these three elements – construction of public places, dialogue and inclusiveness - are relevant, theories addressing these issues were not examined separately since they were not mentioned by more than one or two interviewee(s). However, from the five categories listed in the beginning of this chapter, 'cooperation' and 'trust building' were discussed by each organization representative as well as the Network's Project Coordinator, and thus, theoretical approaches addressing these topics were scrutinized in order to better comprehend the interviewees' perceptions on how these elements can contribute to peacebuilding. Furthermore, it was rather clear from the beginning of this study that the viewpoints of the MFA's Senior Officer and VITRI's Professor Emeritus were going to be quite different from the rest of the perspectives, and therefore, would require the examination of two additional theoretical approaches.

4.3. Frame Analysis and Its Results

Following the initial categorization of the above discussed interview data, a more in-depth analysis of the material was performed by employing frame analysis. This allowed the researcher to interpret the ways in which the interviewees perceive the research subject and give meaning to it. In other words, this was done by focusing on how the interviewees comprehend the possibilities of development cooperation in contributing to the advancement of peace.

Since different actors can produce several different types of frames of the same issue or event, framing was seen as an appropriate method in comparing how individuals with different backgrounds (CSO, ministerial and academic) perceive the topic under examination. Thus, frame analysis is a suitable way for studying how each individual approaches the research subject, which elements they emphasize and how this might relate to their professions and the facets they represent.

With the help of frame analysis, three different ways in which the interviewees framed their perceptions of the main research question of this thesis - namely: how can development cooperation contribute to peacebuilding in conflict-affected contexts? - were detected from the empirical data. Firstly, development cooperation projects providing and/or supporting livelihoods; secondly, development cooperation projects creating and/ or promoting cooperation and trust building; and lastly, development cooperation projects conducted by CSOs at grassroots level can all contribute to the advancement of peace in fragile conflict-affected environments. Instead of utilizing ready frames, the frames employed in this study were produced by the researcher herself. These three frames are:

1. The livelihoods frame

2. The social capital frame and
3. The CSOs as peacebuilders frame

The livelihoods frame As regards the advancement of peace, the Professor Emeritus who is employed by VITRI discussed the importance of development cooperation projects providing livelihoods and food security for people in conflict-affected areas. In addition to this, the Professor stated that the sustainable usage of land and other natural resources also link to questions on peace. Therefore, theories examining the connections between livelihoods, natural resources and peacebuilding were employed in seeking to better comprehend the Professor Emeritus' perceptions on the research subject.

The fact that the Professor Emeritus approached the main research question of this thesis through a frame where natural resources and the environment hold center stage was not surprising since his place of employment, VITRI, conducts studies on the interplay between people and natural resources and specializes in natural resources usage in dry tropical areas with an expertise of over 30 years from developing countries such as South Sudan and Kenya. Moreover, the Professor Emeritus acts as a consultant in the Sahansaho project providing information on, for instance, the most suitable tree species to be planted in the project locations which further explains his approach to the research subject and the very manner in which he frames the interconnectedness of development cooperation and peacebuilding.

The social capital frame The Network's Project Coordinator and the three organization representatives emphasized how the Sahansaho development cooperation project has contributed to the advancement of peace at local level in Somalia by promoting cooperation and trust building. Since the elements of cooperation and trust building can be placed under the concept social capital, theories on the connectedness of social capital and peacebuilding were scrutinized to better comprehend the Project Coordinator's and the organization representatives' viewpoints.

Since the Network's Project Coordinator and the three organization representatives work very closely with each other on the Sahansaho project, they probably have a strong sense of how all the project activities are a mutual effort and how it is important that things are done in concord. This, then, is possibly one of the main reasons why these four individuals emphasized the very elements of cooperation and trust building in framing the research subject.

Moreover, the fact that cooperation is one of the elements highlighted, refers to a non-hierarchical relationship between actors which seeks to avoid the creation of the roles of a donor and a recipient – something which is, at times, clearly distinguishable in some relations in the domain of development

cooperation. Perhaps one reason explaining why such clearly observable power relations do not exist with regard to the Sahansaho project is that the idea for the project originated from the partner organizations in Somalia, thus excluding the perception that the Sahansaho project would be an external intervention by Western actors. Furthermore, the MFA is the main funder of the project, and the member organizations based in Finland cover a notably smaller proportion (15 per cent) of the project costs in comparison to the Ministry. Therefore, a power relation might be more observable between, for example, the MFA and the Network's member organizations.

Overall, seeing social capital as an important component of development cooperation contributing to the advancement of peace might relate to context-specific issues such as operational environment and culture. For instance, in countries such as Somalia where, at least to an extent, clan relations dictate people's daily interactions, it is important that preconceptions do not stand in the way of collaboration on issues which are relevant to people's and their environment's wellbeing and survival.

Indeed, as has been mentioned earlier, one of the objectives of the Sahansaho project is to promote cooperation between different clans in the project areas, and consequently, advance peace on local level. The MFA's Senior Officer also acknowledged this factor by stating: "This type of new cooperation in an environment such as Somalia where cooperation exceeds clan borders has an intrinsic value in itself because it helps build peace and harmony." Several different clans and sub-clans exist in the three project locations in Somalia. In the city of Adado, located in the Galgaduud region, a large number of people belong to the *rer xaji Salebaan* sub-clan of the *Habar Gidir* (Wikipedia, 2016a). In Galkayo, there are two rival families: the *Darod*, who inhabit the Puntland-administered part, and the *Hawiye*, who rule in the Galmudug Interim Administration (Yusuf & Khalif, 2015). In Buhodle, a majority of the population are members of the *Dhulbahante* clan which is part of the larger *Harti Darod* clan (Wikipedia, 2016b). However, as the representative of the NDO noted, several other clans exist in the area also:

"In Ceyn region of Somalia where our organization is based is predominantly *Dhulbahante* clan but we also have smaller clans like *Midgan* and *Tumal* clans. Also with the *Dhulbahante* there are several sub-clans."

With regard to the second sub-question of this thesis - how can development cooperation projects promoting inter-clan cooperation contribute to the advancement of peace? – it could be claimed that having such a wide diversity of clans cooperating together has a positive impact on the possibilities for peace to be advanced, especially in countries such as Somalia where inter-clan rivalries and clashes are not uncommon. In other words, projects promoting inter-clan or inter-ethnic relations can have greater social and cultural relevance while increasing the sustainability of a project. One example of how the Sahansaho project has succeeded to do this is discussed by the representative of the NDO who

acknowledged how: “Desertification in the area affects everyone and this has brought unity among different clans when addressing this issue.”

The CSOs as peacebuilders frame The MFA’s Senior Officer acknowledged how in addition to development cooperation activities conducted by individual states, CSOs have an important supplementary role that can contribute to the creation of more peaceful societies. Consequently, theories discussing CSOs as peacebuilders were scrutinized to further comprehend her views. Obviously, the Senior Officer’s emphasis on civil society’s role in peacebuilding was predictable because she is employed by the MFA’s Unit for Civil Society which provides support for the development cooperation projects of Finnish NGOs and prepares, develops and coordinates issues related to development policy concerning Finnish NGOs.

Where the Senior Officer clearly saw CSOs’ activities as complementary to official bilateral development cooperation and official mediation efforts performed by the state, other interviewees seemed to give a larger role to CSOs as actors in development cooperation and peacebuilding. This is not a surprising finding since the Senior Officer works at ministerial level and probably views the state as the main executor of activities related to development cooperation and peacebuilding. In contrast to this, the Network’s Project Coordinator and the organization representatives are the main executors of the Sahansaho project activities, and thus, they possibly view CSOs’ role as larger and more influential in comparison to the MFA’s Senior Officer.

4.4. Conclusion

All in all, the differences in interviewees’ viewpoints did not come as a surprise when considering the fact that they represent different facets (CSO, ministerial and academic) and consequently, are likely to place emphasis on different issues. What is more, the resemblance of aspects between the three organization representatives and the Network’s Project Coordinator was not unexpected either since in addition to working very closely on the Sahansaho project, these individuals also work in CSOs conducting development cooperation. This means they are likely to have similar ideologies and worldviews, and consequently, approach the domains of development cooperation and peacebuilding with reminiscent outlooks. Furthermore, none of the six interviewees discussed any adverse effects development cooperation or peacebuilding might have which indicates that they view these two domains as normative actions leading to – in one way or another - improvement.

Chapter 5: Discussion

This chapter is divided into two main parts. The first part summarizes the observations made from the primary data and reflects upon them partly with the help of earlier studies and relevant literature. Additionally, the limitations of this study are addressed. The second part of the chapter commences by encapsulating the aims and objectives as well as the different stages of the thesis and explains the conclusions arrived at. Moreover, the significance of the results of data analysis is discussed, and lastly, recommendations for further research provided.

5.1. Reflections

As this thesis found out, all of the interviewees were of the opinion that development cooperation (projects) can contribute to peacebuilding in conflict-affected contexts. In order to help forward peace, VITRI's Professor Emeritus emphasized how development cooperation projects ought to promote people's livelihoods, improve food security and aim for sustainable usage of land and other natural resources. The theoretical approaches examined widely support these findings made from the empirical data and vice versa. Indeed, theories scrutinizing the interconnectedness of livelihoods, natural resources and peacebuilding share VITRI's Professor Emeritus' view on the relevance of projects developing and supporting sustainable livelihoods (Halle, 2009; Young & Goldman, 2015) and food security in creating sustainable peace (Roe, 2015). On the other hand, these types of NGO-led aid projects have received criticism for diminishing the role of the state (Christoplos, 2000a; Hanlon, 1996 quoted in Schafer, 2002, pp. 19-20) as well as for increasing the generation of a contract culture which transfers accountability to citizens (Hulme & Edwards, 1997 quoted in Shafer, *ibid.*). Obviously, in an ideal situation, the state is able to support the economic and social wellbeing of its citizens. However, if this is not a possibility – as is the case with Somalia – is it not better that people themselves take action? Especially if the actions conducted advance peace? Whereas the creation of sustainable peace requires a strong state, building peace on local level, such as in different regions of a country, can be seen as an important initial step in achieving peace on a wider scale. Therefore, this is a good indication of how development cooperation projects such as Sahansaho can contribute to the advancement of peace. In other words, although the Sahansaho project alone will never bring peace to the whole of Somalia, it can be an important component of the overall efforts striving to achieve sustainable peace in the country.

The MFA's Senior Officer acknowledged how CSOs have an important role in peacebuilding which they perform by, for instance, carrying out mediation activities in the less official Tracks Two and Three, and by providing basic services to people when the government is unable to do so. Oftentimes

seen as a prerequisite for successfully carrying out development cooperation activities, the Senior Officer also noted how such organizations tend to have extensive networks in and connections to those countries in which they execute their projects. The theoretical aspects examined were very much in line with the MFA's Senior Officer's views. For instance, as with many theories discussed previously (Åkerlund, 2001, p. 12; Goodhand, 2006, pp. 123-124), the Senior Officer also referred to CSOs' role in peacebuilding as 'supportive' and 'contributory'. Moreover, commonalities were also detected between theory (Woodhouse, 1999 quoted in Goodhand, 2006, p. 13) and data as regards CSOs' potential to act as leaders in the more unofficial mediation tracks. However, where the Senior Officer saw that diaspora organizations possess several advantageous qualities with respect to peacebuilding such as having the necessary social networks in and context-specific knowledge on the country where projects are conducted, theoretical viewpoints reminded that such attributes should not be taken for granted. In other words, being a member of diaspora is not the same as being an expert in development cooperation and/ or peacebuilding (Horst et al., 2000, pp. 10-12). Where this is obviously an important remark to remember, so is also the Senior Officer's observation on how members of diaspora are oftentimes very active in carrying out development cooperation activities and additionally, have organized themselves well. One viewpoint the theories examined managed to overlook is that this, for its part, is something funders such as the MFA can benefit from.

In comparison to the MFA's Senior Officer and VITRI's Professor Emeritus, the Network's Project Coordinator and the three organization representatives provided more practical examples on the link between development cooperation and peacebuilding by oftentimes addressing the topic via the Sahansaho project. In their view, the project has advanced peace on local level in Somalia by, for instance, encouraging people to cooperate with each other in order to take care of their environment. As a consequence, this collaboration has allowed trust to be built among people which is important for the sustainability of peace. Theories addressing the link between social capital and peacebuilding largely supported the Network's Project Coordinator's and the organization representatives' perceptions on the importance of cooperation and trust building as processes contributing to the advancement peace. Furthermore, theoretical viewpoints also examined the adverse side of social capital where the very issues that can improve stability and peacefulness of societies have ended up strengthening violent behavior in some instances (Cox, 2009, pp.1-2).

In retrospect, the research methods utilized in this study seemed to be well suited for answering the research questions. Where content analysis enabled an overall understanding to be gained of the interview data, employing frame analysis allowed for a more thorough examination of the interviewees' perceptions on the research subject to be performed. As is oftentimes the case with a master's thesis, the results of this study are not largely generalizable either. However, arriving at generalizable results

was never the aim of this piece of research. This is mostly due to the fact that the thesis analyses how individuals representing different facets view the peacebuilding potential entailed in development cooperation projects such as Sahansaho.

5.1.1. Limitations of Research

Both Western and non-Western sources were utilized in answering the research questions of this thesis. Only employing Western sources would have been a large deficit since the Sahansaho project used as a case study in this thesis is conducted in a non-Western country. When examining how peace can be advanced at grassroots level in a country such as Somalia, if the literature used to explain this is restricted to Western sources, the intended bottom-up approach can turn on its head, and consequently, end up promoting a top-down stance. Although this was not the case, the thesis could have benefitted from an increase in the number of non-Western sources and the concomitant decrease in the amount of Western sources. This being said, the use of sources also depends on issues relating to availability and feasibility. For instance, the usage of some non-Western sources might have required the hiring of a translator, something not possible due to the financial restrictions of this study. In addition to this, Somali literature on peace and development is probably rather limited due to the strong oral tradition in the country.

The choice of interviewees has to be carefully considered since it largely dictates the types of answers produced. However, especially with regard to a master's thesis, monetary and temporal constraints tend to define who can be interviewed. If such limitations did not exist, it would have been ideal to visit Somalia and conduct interviews with local organizations and project beneficiaries who have been involved in the Sahansaho development cooperation project. This would have enabled the generation of an even more comprehensive view on the outcomes and impacts of the project carried out in different locations in Somalia. However, even if financial and temporal limitations did not exist, the security situation in the country might have prevented this type of research from being executed.

Recognizing that the primary data was mainly collected from three organization representatives (two based in Finland, one in Somalia) as well as from three other individuals with differing relations to the Sahansaho project, by no means does this study claim to generate an all-encompassing view on the connection between development cooperation and peacebuilding. This means conclusions regarding Somalia as a whole cannot be drawn nor can generalizations limited to the three districts where the Sahansaho development cooperation project is conducted be made. On the other hand, there was an awareness of this from the beginning, and thus, producing generalizable results on the research subject was at no stage an aim of this thesis.

One of the most challenging decisions made regarding this piece of research concerned the extent to which the diaspora angle ought to be emphasized. As explained previously, excluding the Network, three out of the six organizations involved in the execution of the Sahansaho project are diaspora organizations and two out of the six individuals interviewed are representatives of diaspora organizations. The fact that members of diaspora participate in the Sahansaho project is likely to have an influence in one way or another, for instance, on the project's capacity to build lasting peace. Thus, seeking to scrutinize the impact the involvement of diaspora organizations have on what a development cooperation project can achieve could have deepened the analysis of the research data. However, in the end, the decision not to accentuate the diaspora aspect was made. The main reason for this is that one master's thesis can only pay attention to a very limited number of approaches. In addition to this, research on diasporas and peacebuilding is already rather plentiful, and moreover, it could have been difficult to pinpoint what are the specific issues connected to planning, execution and sustainability of a project that can be attached to the involvement of diaspora organizations with certainty.

It is also necessary to consider the impacts my internship at the Network might have on the reliability of the results of this study. Albeit having conducted five out of six interviews before I commenced my internship in October 2015, I had only carried out some initial analysis of the five interviews at that point. Thus, most of the data analysis was performed after the conclusion of the internship in December 2015. Additionally, I worked closely on the Sahansaho project utilized as a case study in this thesis since one of my main tasks as an intern was to apply for further funding for the project. As a consequence, considerations relating to bias and partiality are inevitably raised. Unquestionably, not conducting an internship at the Network might have preserved a certain distance between myself and the research subject. Nevertheless, I do not see that having spent two months in an environment with a largely normative view on development cooperation radically tilted my own perception of development cooperation to one side or the other. If anything, the internship aided me in gaining an even more multifaceted view on the domain of development cooperation with its plethora of challenges and possibilities.

5.2. Conclusion

It was clear from the commencement of this study that no universal answer regarding how development cooperation can contribute to peacebuilding would be produced. This stance is backed up by scholars such as Goodhand (2006, p. 103) who have acknowledged the impossibility of transforming a particular project's impacts into generalizations due to the context-specific characteristics of NGOs, their projects and conflicts. Therefore, this study focused on comparing and contrasting the views of individuals with different relations to the Sahansaho development cooperation project by asking them

how the project has contributed to the advancement of peace on local level in Somalia. These perspectives were then analyzed and reflected upon with relevant theoretical aspects.

In the section discussing the theoretical framework of this thesis, the two most central concepts, development cooperation and peacebuilding, were defined. Additionally, theories utilized in comprehending the primary data examined the connections between livelihoods, natural resources and peacebuilding; between social capital and peacebuilding; as well as looking at the role of CSOs in peacebuilding.

The six semi-structured interviews which form the main primary data of this thesis were analyzed with a combination of content analysis and frame analysis. The analysis concluded that the interviewees emphasize different issues as regards the main research question: how can development cooperation contribute to peacebuilding in conflict-affected contexts. Where the VITRI's Professor Emeritus gave significance to development cooperation projects that promote livelihoods and food security, the Network's Project Coordinator and all the three organization representatives viewed projects that generate and develop issues such as cooperation and trust building as relevant. With regard to advancing peace in a country such as Somalia, it is especially important that these issues are established between different clans as is the case with the Sahansaho project. Additionally, the MFA's Senior Officer perceived CSOs as leaders in the unofficial mediation tracks and overall, noted that CSOs have a supportive and supplementary role in peacebuilding.

Several academics have condemned the normative undertone of development cooperation especially in cases where it is conducted by Westerners as external interventions. Indeed, development cooperation has been criticized for being used in driving national agendas, in making the donors appear as civilized as well as leaving developing countries dependable on outside support. As regards the Sahansaho project, similar critique was not directed at the project in this thesis due to what was learned of its origin in the interviews. Despite the fact that the project has been largely funded by the MFA, and thus, has to fill a certain criteria in order to receive that funding, the idea for the project was generated by the partner organizations in Somalia.

In reflecting on the findings made, it was concluded that the action advancing peace does not necessarily have to fit under the umbrella of development cooperation. In more detail, what this implies is that several types of activities that involve people's shared interests and that lead to cooperation and trust building between them can advance peace. That said, a development cooperation project seems to be a good example of an activity that can capitalize on actors' common interests and provide tools and resources - for instance, TA, know-how, personnel and funding - for pursuing these interests. Moreover, since a project's predetermined goals are oftentimes tied to a specific time frame, the

advancement of the project is usually evaluated and monitored by the funder who might require regular reports on how the project has managed to fulfil its aims. Since receiving funding for a project is always linked to certain conditions, regularly monitoring a project's progress might act as an additional incentive in reaching specific objectives. Furthermore, especially grassroots level development cooperation projects conducted by CSOs have a tendency to emphasize inclusiveness by including different minority groups such as minority clans as part of the project. Since in building sustainable peace, it is important to pay regard to a wide range of perspectives, different types of meetings, workshops and seminars arranged as part of a project offer a great way to discuss people's common interests. Overall, a development cooperation project seems to be the type of an activity that brings people together and develops networks, links and connections which hopefully exceed any dividing lines and thus strengthens the structures of society.

The fact that the environment is the main theme of the Sahansaho project seems not to be of the greatest importance regarding the project's likelihood in contributing to the advancement of peace. Obviously, the mere act of planting a tree cannot advance peace as such. Instead, taking care of the environment, by, for instance, planting trees and spreading environmental awareness are issues that can bring people together, make them identify common interest, develop interaction between them, and finally, through these steps, contribute to the creation of more peaceful societies. Thus, it seems to be the interaction and cooperation related to activities of development cooperation projects that play a larger role. Additionally, as was just pointed out, what is also relevant is that the theme chosen for a project is of interest to the people concerned, preferably on an individual level as well as on the level of society. For instance, as is the case in several environmental development cooperation projects, the environment and/or natural resources can act as a good 'platform' or 'catalyst' for peace (Halle, 2009). This is, among the many reasons, due to the facts that environmental issues concern everyone in one way or another and oftentimes relate to basic human needs including food security, livelihoods and people's wellbeing.

Overall, perhaps the most surprising finding of this thesis was that neither development cooperation nor the environment are such decisive factors in building peace. Rather, it seems what is needed is cooperation and an issue that is of importance to people that unifies them. In addition to this finding, the study provides a less employed approach to examining how development cooperation can contribute to peacebuilding. Instead of seeking to arrive at an 'ultimate truth' on whether or not the Sahansaho project has furthered peace in Somalia on local level, the study looked at and compared individuals' perceptions thus producing an overview on the elements different people from differing backgrounds (CSO, ministerial, academic) emphasize in relation to the main research question.

Considering what this thesis was set out to answer, it can be argued that the main research question as well as the two sub-questions were the right questions to ask. However, if a more specific question wanted to be presented on the same topic, and consequently, the range of possible answers narrowed down, an alternative research question could have been: Which characteristics of development cooperation projects have the best potential to advance peace? However, again, the results would be rather context-specific even if this alternative research question was employed.

5.2.1. Recommendations for Further Research

Since the research topic of a master's thesis has to be rather limited in scope, several interesting aspects could not be included in this study. When planning to further scrutinize the subject of this thesis, it ought to be remembered that the achievements and results of CSOs' development cooperation projects as well as their possible impact on the advancement of peace are rather challenging to measure (Chandler, 1999, p. 122; Goodhand, 2006, p. 103). In contrast to easily measurable accomplishments such as the number of new schools built, this is especially the case with less visible outcomes such as changes in people's attitudes or improvements in women's level of education (Koponen & Seppänen, 2007, p. 350). This being said, there are several ways in which this study could have been developed further. Firstly, if temporal restrictions did not exist, the same individuals could have been interviewed at several different stages of the Sahansaho project (longitudinal study). Secondly, the extent to which the MFA's budget cuts on CSOs' development cooperation impact the execution of the Sahansaho project could have also been examined. Thirdly, comparative analysis could be carried out on the ways diaspora and non-diaspora organizations' development cooperation projects seek to advance peace. Fourthly, development cooperation projects with different themes could be contrasted among each other in order to investigate if projects with certain topics seem to entail a better peacebuilding capacity. Lastly, the way gender impacts on people's definitions of peace and consequently, how these definitions influence the design of peacebuilding activities would provide an additional interesting research approach. These five different examples of how the topic of this thesis could be further researched are discussed in more detail next.

Longitudinal Study At the time when the interviews for this thesis were conducted, the Sahansaho project had been running for approximately three years. Since Sahansaho has been designed as a long-term project with an estimated duration of 10 years, it would be interesting to know how the project participants' attitudes and perceptions develop over time. Overall, the interviewees seemed to be rather optimistic about what the project can achieve, and thus, it could be examined whether this enthusiasm stays with them over the whole duration of the project. Therefore, one option in further studying this topic would be to look at participants' viewpoints during various stages of a project (for instance, before the commencement of a project, after five years from the commencement as well as after the

conclusion of a project). Not only would such an approach allow for individuals' (and their organizations') viewpoints to be compared during different times of a project, both internal and external factors impacting on them could also be researched.

Project Budget According to initial plans, the Sahansaho project is to reach a status of local ownership during a 10-year time period (Diallo, 2015a). However, the Finnish Government's decision to cut the appropriations allocated to CSOs' development cooperation by about half from EUR 114 million (2015) to EUR 65 million (2016) is likely to impact on the capacity to execute the Sahansaho project (Diallo, 2015b³; MFA, 2015c). Despite the MFA's funding for the project running out by the end of 2015, the Ministry decided to interrupt the application round for small and medium-sized organizations' project support. Therefore, the Network has started to search for new alternative funding sources for the project. (Diallo, 2015b.)

In light of the budget cuts made by the Finnish Government on CSOs' development cooperation, one must wonder what is the exact correlation between a project's budget and a project's capability to advance peace. In other words, how much does money matter in peacebuilding? Does a bigger budget inevitably increase a project's peacebuilding potential? Or, alternatively, when striving to achieve peace, do issues other than a project's financial resources - such as the establishment of good working relations, networking and cooperation - weigh more heavily? If yes, does this inexorably apply in situations where a smaller budget notably decreases the scale on which activities are performed?

Diaspora vs. Non-Diaspora Organizations Although not separately referring to themselves as diaspora organizations, it might also be worthy to examine the impact and relevance of the fact that a majority of the members of the three Finland-based organizations involved in the Sahansaho project were born in the country in which the project is conducted – in this case, Somalia. This links to several context-specific issues such as culture, clan relations, religion and language which one must have an in-depth understanding of in order to carry out peace-enhancing development cooperation activities successfully. Thus, it might also be relevant to ponder how the characteristics of a project would look like if none of the organizations involved were diaspora organizations. Moreover, if a project was conducted without the knowledge gained from members of diaspora, would this influence the possibilities of the project to advance peace? When aiming to build sustainable peace, is it always beneficial to have diaspora organizations involved? Or alternatively, are there any dimensions of peacebuilding where a certain distance entailed in non-diaspora organizations might act as an advantage?

³ Personal communication with the Project Coordinator of the Finnish Somalia Network

Theme of a Project The extent to which a specific element can act as a unifying factor in a development cooperation project would also be an intriguing issue to research. Especially in light of the current global discussions on climate change as well as the severe draughts causing famine in Somalia, how significant of a meaning does it have that the environment is the central theme of a project advancing peace? What if another field such as health care was chosen as the main theme? Would it manage to unite people in the same way and get them to work together to achieve common aims?

Gender Perspective Further research could also be carried out on how gender impacts people's definitions of peace, and consequently, what implications this has for development cooperation projects seeking to advance peace. If for instance, men view peace merely as the absence of violence and war but women perceive it as having a secure environment where they can carry out their daily tasks without feeling threatened or unsafe, how does this influence the way development cooperation activities are planned and executed? Furthermore, if there are large differences in men's and women's understanding of peace, does this mean development projects and related activities only bring peace to the other gender? If a development cooperation project striving to create a more peaceful environment is planned by men only, can women too feel peace has been achieved?

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Appendices

Appendix 1/ Interview questions for the Project Coordinator, Finnish Somalia Network

1. What are your duties as the Project Coordinator of the Sahansaho project?
2. Does the MFA pay the funds directly to the Network, and consequently, the Network forwards the funds to the member organizations?
3. When did you first get involved in the Sahansaho project?
4. According to the MFA, funding has been granted to the project until the end of this year (2015). How long does each funding cycle last?
5. Do you know if the project will continue next year?
6. Would the project continue with the same contents or would there be changes to the contents of the project?
7. Is the MFA's funding tied to certain conditions regarding, for instance, the content or the implementation of the project?
8. How did the idea about the project emerge in the first place?
9. Does *Sahansaho* mean something in Finnish?
10. How were the different organizations chosen for the project?
11. Does each Finnish member organization have a specific partner organization in Somalia?
12. What are the exact project locations?
13. Have you visited the project locations?
14. How many people do the environmental centers employ?
15. Do the six different organizations have differing roles in the project?
16. Does the project have the support of the local government or relevant local ministries in Somalia?
17. Does the MFA require that the Network reports to them about the project on regular basis?
18. Have the concepts *ownership* and *empowerment* been included in the project? If yes, how?
19. How has the advancement of peace been included into the project?
20. How has the project contributed to the advancement of peace in practice?
21. Since peace is a cross-cutting theme in the project, has it's meaning in the project been defined separately? If yes, what is the definition?
22. How does the Network itself define peace?
23. Do you believe that the benefits of the project are divided equally amongst the locals?
24. Have there been any challenges in executing the project? If yes, what?

25. You mentioned that the security situation can change rather rapidly in different regions in Somalia. Do you know if there have been issues with security in relation to this project?
26. Since this is a new type of joint project, do you believe that the project concept will be marketed to other actors in the future?

Appendix 2/ Interview questions for member and partner organizations

1. What is the name and what are the main activities of the organization you represent?
2. When was the organization established?
3. What is the size of the personnel in the organization?
4. Is the personnel (or a part of it) working in the organization on full-time or part-time basis or is the workforce of a voluntary nature?
5. What are the vision and the objective of the organization?
6. Is the organization religiously, politically and ideologically independent?
7. Are any wider global frames such as the MDGs embedded in the organization's objective?
8. How are the activities of the organization funded?
9. For organizations operating in Finland: Do the decisions made in relation to the Finnish Government's development budget affect the activities undertaken by your organization? If yes, how?
10. When did the organization become a member organization of the Finnish Somalia Network?
11. What were the main reasons for wanting to become a member organization of the Finnish Somalia Network?
12. How did the organization first get involved in the Sahansaho project?
13. What were the main motivations of the organization in deciding to partake in the project?
14. Has these initial motivations been shaped along the progress of the project? If yes, how?
15. Is your organization undertaking any other development cooperation activities?
16. What is the size of the personnel in the organization working on this particular project?
17. What is the organization's role in the Sahansaho project?
18. Does the organization participate in planning and/or evaluating the project? If yes, in what capacity?
19. What facets does the organization cooperate with in Somalia?
20. How are these cooperative facets chosen?
21. Does the project include cooperation between different clans or sub-clans?
22. Is the organization seeking to advance peace in Somalia either directly or indirectly through the project?
23. What is the organization's perception on peace?
24. Does the organization perceive a link between peace and development? If yes, what is the nature of this linkage?
25. Has the project advanced peace in Somalia?
26. What are some of the concrete examples of this?

27. Whose peace is the project advancing primarily? Secondly?
28. What challenges has the organization faced when undertaking the project?
29. How have these challenges been tackled?
30. In the organization's viewpoint, to what extent has the goals of the project been achieved?
31. Is the progress of the project evaluated? If yes, by whom and how is this conducted?
32. What are the future plans of the organization in relation to this project?

Appendix 3/ Interview questions for the Professor Emeritus of Tropical Silviculture, Viikki Tropical Resource Institute, Department of Forest Sciences, University of Helsinki

1. How did VITRI get involved in the Sahansaho project in the first place?
2. What is VITRI's role in the project?
3. VITRI has been involved in the project since its pilot phase in 2012. Is VITRI still actively involved?
4. What is the size of the team VITRI has in the project?
5. Has VITRI had activities in all three project locations in Somalia?
6. What type of challenges has VITRI's team met as regards the Sahansaho project?
7. What type of different facets has VITRI been cooperating with in the project?
8. How does VITRI define peace?
9. What type of environmental projects can advance peace when operating in a fragile operational environment?
10. What are VITRI's plans for the future as regards the Sahansaho project?

Appendix 4/ Interview questions for the Senior Officer, Unit for Civil Society, Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland

1. How does your position at the MFA link with funding decisions made on CSOs' development cooperation projects?
2. Which were the factors impacting on the MFA's decision to finance the Sahansaho project (2013-2015)?
3. Were there any specific reasons for funding a project taking place in Somalia? In other words, what were/ are the MFA's interests in supporting the development of Somalia?
4. Was the decision to finance the Sahansaho project in any ways related to the fact that it is an environmental project? In other words, did the MFA emphasize any specific themes in relation to development cooperation when the decision to finance the Sahansaho project was made?
5. Has anyone from the MFA travelled to Somalia to evaluate the progress/ results of the Sahansaho project?
6. The Finnish Somalia Network perceives advancing peace (on a local level) as a cross-cutting theme of the Sahansaho project. Does the MFA have a view on how and what kinds of development cooperation projects can advance peace on a local level?
7. How does the MFA define peace?
8. What is the MFA's perception of the relation between development cooperation and peacebuilding?
9. How does the MFA perceive the possibilities of peacebuilding in the development cooperation projects carried out by CSOs?
10. How does the MFA perceive the role of CSOs in peacebuilding?